
NEW WINE IN OLD BOTTLES

THE FIGURE PAINTING OF REN BONIAN (1840-1895)

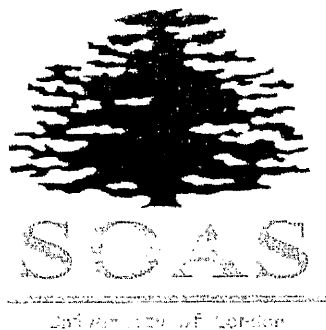
IN THE CONTEXT OF NINETEENTH CENTURY

SHANGHAI

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For Professor Roderick Whitfield

I

My Parents

ABSTRACT

Ren Yi, self-styled Bonian (1840-1895), is rightly considered as one of the most prolific painters in late nineteenth century Shanghai. Like many of his contemporaries, the life of Ren Bonian was much entangled with social and economic change in the international city where new and old, local and foreign enterprises were assembled at that time. On this account his paintings often present a strong visual effect and delightful mood, as well as novelty, popularity and diversity to attract audience and facilitate commerce.

This dissertation poses three broad questions: what was the relationship between the changes in society and artistic directions? What role do Ren Bonian's figure paintings play in the social relations of power, including those of class and gender? How do these help us to understand the artistic trends in Shanghai at that time?

With equal attention given to history and art history, this dissertation provides a solid biography of Ren Bonian and a survey of the world in which painters such as Ren Bonian and his contemporaries lived in the first two chapters. In the third chapter, we explore the sources of Ren Bonian's learning, the roots of and the inspirations for his artistic language. Taking three types of his figure painting as examples, in the following chapter, our concern includes the popular literature, patronage and sexuality that possibly inspired Ren Bonian's choice of subject matter and visual performance. In the fifth chapter, we discuss the influences of both traditional training and the foreign stimuli on Ren Bonian's portraiture. The sixth chapter focuses on the serious problem of forgeries in relation to the rapid growth of his fame brought by *Shen Bao* and other media through the reproductions of his painting. A seal index and a chronological list of Ren's figure paintings are provided as appendices.

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CONTENT

Abstract	<i>iii</i>
Acknowledgements	<i>iv</i>
List of Illustrations	<i>viii</i>
I. In Time and Space	30
A. Exile and Memory	
B. Living in a Metropolis City	
C. Arrangement of Chapters	
II. The Life of Ren Bonian 1840~1895	50
A. Ren Bonian's Early Life (1840~1863)	
B. Travels in Jiangnan (1864~1868)	
C. The Newcomer in Shanghai (1868~1880)	
D. The Mature Artist: Ren Bonian and His Circle (1881~1890)	
E. An Opium Addict (1891~1895)	
III. Source of Ren Bonian's Learning	92
A. The Influence of Master and Book Illustration	
B. <i>Xieyi</i> and Emotional Expression	
IV. Old Bottle and New Wine — Sexuality, Patronage and Ren Bonian's Choice of Subject Matter	123
A. Pictures of Making Merry	
B. World of Entertainment	
C. Overlapped Patronage — Ren Bonian's Customers and Pleasure Quarter Patrons	
D. Story of the Story	
E. Travellers of Both Genders	
F. Old Bottle and New Wine	

V. From Mustard Seed Garden to Tushanwan

A. Traditional Training in Ren Bonian's Portraiture 178

1. Portraits for Fellow Artists
2. Reality and Traditional Training
3. Reality and Literary Play
4. Reality and Role Play

B. Foreign Stimuli in Ren Bonian's Portraiture 201

1. Western Influenced Paintings and Woodcut Illustrations in China
2. The First Cradle of Western Arts and Crafts in China —
— Craft School of Tushanwan, Xujiahui
3. Liu Bizhen (1843~1912) and His Art
4. A Technical Change in Ren Bonian's Portraiture
5. Photography and Portraiture
6. Conflicts of Accepting Scientific Reality
7. A Parting

VI. Authentic and Counterfeit Figure Paintings of Ren Bonian 244

A. Types of Making Copies

B. Identifying Counterfeit Painting:

1. A Free Hand Copy of Popular Subjectmatter
2. A Pastiche with Elements Taken from a Different Picture of the
Master
3. The Exact Tracing Copies
4. Other Examples of Repeated Images of Popular Themes

C. People Who Related to Copy Making:

1. Ni Tian (1855~1919)
2. Ren Xia (1870~1920)
3. Li Fu, Yu Li (1862-1922), and Others

D. Background Sources for Studying Forgeries of Ren Bonian's Figure Painting

VII. Conclusion	284
A. Conclusion	
B. Research Prospects	
Ren Bonian's Artistic Circle	288
Bibliographical Sources	292
A. Research on Shanghai School	
B. Research on Ren Bonian	
C. Reproductions of Ren Bonian's Painting	
D. Catalogue and Essays	
Plates	333
Appendices	
A. Chronological Listing of Figure Painting by Ren Bonian	
1. Abbreviations	455
2. Catalogue	458
B. Seals of Ren Bonian	
1. Analysis of Seals	538
2. Seal Index	546
3. Sources	550
4. Catalogue	600
5. Chronological List of Seals	605

List of Illustrations

- Fig. 1 Ren Bonian, Parting by the River Xiaojia 小浹江話別圖, 1866. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Palace Museum, Beijing.
- Fig. 2 Ren Bonian, Lady Among the Almond Blossoms 梅花仕女圖, 1865. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 128.9 x 32.9 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Fig. 3 Fei Danshu, Washing the Silk, undated. Detail, ink and colour on paper, 113 x 30 cm, Duoyunxuan. Source: Haishang huihua chuanji, Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 2000, p. 22.
- Fig. 4 Wu Youru, Lively life in the Yu Garden 豫園把戲圖, late 19th century. Woodcut print. Source: Wang Shucun, *Zhongguo minjian nianhuashi lunji*, Tianjin: Yangliuqing chubanshe, 1991, Fig. 84.
- Fig. 5 Ren Bonian, The Lady Figure After Laolian 仿老蓮仕女圖, 1865. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 125 x 61cm, Duoyun Xuan, Shanghai
- Fig. 6 Ren Qi, Figures Beneath Cherry Trees 櫻托丹源, Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 147.5 x 37.7 cm, Nanjing Museum
- Fig. 7 Ren Bonian, Two female Immortals Offering Gifts 女仙圖 1874. Hanging scroll, collection unknown. Source: *Rongbaojai huapu* 榮寶齋畫譜, Beijing, 1995, p.52
- Fig. 8 Chen Hongshou, Immortals Offering Gifts 仙人獻壽, After 1637. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk 182.1 x 98.1cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei
- Fig. 9 Ren Xiong, Magu Offering Her Birthday Wishes, 麻姑獻壽, undated. Detail, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 162.3 x 86.2 cm, The Palace Museum, Beijing
- Fig. 10 Ren Bonian, Figure after Chen Hongshou 仿陳洪綬人物圖, 1874. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 137.3 x 32.6 cm, Shanghai Museum. Source: *Illustrated Catalogue of Selected Works of Ancient Chinese Painting and Calligraphy* 中國古代畫畫圖目, vol. 5, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990, p. 419, plate Hu 滬 1-4589.
- Fig. 11 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Retired Scholar of Fan Lake at the age of 42 范湖居士四十二歲小像 (portrait of Zhou Xian 周閑, 1820~1879), 1867. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 129 x 49.5 cm, Zhejiang Provincial Museum
- Fig. 12 Farmer 山樵, after Zhao Mengfu, Woodcut print, *Jieziyuan huazhuan* 芥子園畫傳, 1818
- Fig. 13 Ren Xiong, Portrait of Lu You 陸游像 *Yuyue xianxian zhuan* 於越仙賢傳, 1856. Woodcut print, 17.5 x 11.2 cm, Xiaoshan Wangshi Yanghetang version 蕭山王氏養和堂刊本
- Fig. 14 Ren Bonian Portrait of Ren Songyun 任淞雲像 1869. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 173.1 x 47.3 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

- Fig. 15 A Recluse 高士, after Jin Nong 金農, *Jieziyuan huazhuan* 芥子園畫傳, 1818, Woodcut print; reprinted, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1995, p. 244.
- Fig. 16 Ren Bonian, Flower and Lady 花容玉貌, 1874. Detail, ink and colour on silk fan, 25 x 25 cm, Nanjing Museum
- Fig. 17 Ren Bonian, Plum and Lady 臨窗觀梅, 1878. Detail, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 96 x 42.6 cm, Liaoning Province Museum
- Fig. 18 Chen Hongshou Portrait of Yingyig 鶯鶯像, 1628-44. Detail, *Illustration of the Romance of the Western Chamber* (North Version) 北西廂記插圖, 20 x 14 cm, Beijing Library
- Fig. 19 Ren Bonian, Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes 群仙祝壽, undated. Twelve hanging scrolls, ink and colour on gold foiled paper, 206.8 x 59.5 cm, Shanghai Artist Association. Source: *Ren Bonian qunxian zhushou tu*, Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1983.
- Fig. 20 Ren Bonian, Immortal Offering the Birthday Wishes. Detail of panel 1, Laozi figure
- Fig. 21 Ren Xiong Lao Zi 老子, *Liexian jiupai* 列仙酒牌. Woodcut print, 17.5 x 7.4 cm, published in *Zhongguo meishu chuanji*, vol. 20, plate 163
- Fig. 22 Detail of Lao Zi, *Laozi daodejing* 老子道德經, 1457-64. Woodcut print, 20.5 x 13.5 cm, Central Library, Taiwan
- Fig. 23 Detail of Laozi, *Liexian chuanzhuang* 有像列仙全傳, 1600. Wanhuxuan version 玩虎軒刻本, reprinted *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan*, vol.3, pl. 6
- Fig. 24 Ren Bonian Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes, detail of The panel 2, Hexiang 何仙姑
- Fig. 25 Ren Qi, Wishing the Good Official Rank to the Son 仿陳洪綬送子得魁圖. Detail, hanging scroll, colour and ink on silk, 97.6 x 42.6 cm Zhejiang Province Museum
- Fig. 26 Ren Xiong Mao Yujiang 毛玉姜, *Liexian jiupai* 列仙酒牌 1854. Woodcut print, 17.5 x 7.4 cm, Collected by Xia Ziyi
- Fig. 27 Ren Bonian, Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes, Figures From the Panel 2, undated, Shanghai Artists' Association
- Fig. 28. Liu Yuan, Bodhisattva Figure after Liu Cen 佛尊, *Lingyange gongchentū*, 1668. Detail, , 20 x 12 cm, woodcut print Wumen zhuhutang version 吳門柱笏堂刊本
- Fig. 29 Ren Bonian, Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes, Figures From the Panel 2, undated, Shanghai Artists' Association
- Fig. 30. Liu Yuan Yin Zhihong 殷志宏, *Lingyange gongchentū*, 1668. Detail, , 20 x 12 cm, woodcut print Wumen zhuhutang version 吳門柱笏堂刊本
- Fig. 31 Ren Bonian, Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes, Detail of the upper scene of the panel 4. Undated, Shanghai Artists' Association
- Fig. 32 Xiao Yuncong, Tianwen – Jingniao yixi, *Lisao tu*, 離騷天問京鳥貽喜, 1645. Woodcut print, 18.3 x 11.2 cm, Shanghai Library

- Fig. 33 Ren Xiong, Portrait of Xie Ziran 謝自然, *Liexian jiupai* 列仙酒牌, 1854. Woodcut prints, 17.5 x 7.4 cm, coll. Xia Ziyi
- Fig. 34 Ren Bonian, Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes. Detail of Panel 5
- Fig. 35 Xiao Yuncong, Donghuang taiyi - Jiuge, *Lisao tu*, 1645, 18.3 x 11.2 cm, Woodcut print, Shanghai Library
- Fig. 36 Ren Bonian, Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes. Detail of Panel 9
- Fig. 37 Xiao Yuncong Donghuang taiyi-Jiuge of *Lisao tu*, 1645. Woodcut print, 18.3 x 11.2 cm, Shanghai Library
- Fig. 38 Ren Bonian, Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes. Detail of Panel 9
- Fig. 39 Xu Zhen, *Nucaizi ji chatu* 女才子集插圖, Qing emperor Shunzhi (1644~1661), collected in Dalian Library, published in *Zhongguo meishu chuanji* 中國美術全集, vol. 20, p. 200
- Fig. 40 Ren Bonian, Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes. Detail of Panel 11
- Fig. 41 Chen Hongshou, Mu Cheng, Romance of the Western Chamber 西廂記目成, 1639. Detail, woodcut Print, 20.2 x 13 cm, Zhejiang Province Museum
- Fig. 42 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui, 1874. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, former collection of Ye Qianyu. Source: Wang Lanxi, *Zhongkui baitu*, Lingnan meishu, 1990, plate 33
- Fig. 43 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui Catching a Demon, 1878. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 132 x 66.2 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, vol. 2, p. 165.
- Fig. 44. Bada Shanren, Landscape, Flower and Calligraphy, 1698. Three leaves from an album of sixteen leaves, ink and light colour on paper, The Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. Source: R. Barnhart, *Master of Lotus Garden*, Fig. 107.
- Fig. 45 Gao Yong guan xi 高邕觀喜, Seal of Gao Yong on the left corner of the leaf, Detail of Fig. 45 (middle).
- Fig. 46 Bada Shanren, Flowers, 1694 Album leaf mounted as hanging scroll, ink on Paper, Wang Fangyu collection, USA. Source: R. Barnhart, *Master of Lotus Garden*, Fig. 87. The second colophon in the lower part was written by Yang Xian 楊峴 in the seventh month of year *yiwei* (1895). This painting was formerly in Wu Changshuo's collection.
- Fig. 47 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui, undated (ca. 1878-80). Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum.
- Fig. 48 Bada Shanren, Swallows, undated. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 175 x 87.6 cm, Shanghai Museum.
- Fig. 49 Ren Bonian, Minas after Bada Shanren 1886. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 80.3 x 44.6 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, vol. 1, p. 89

- Fig. 50 Bada Shanren, Minas, 1692. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 105.4 x 36 cm, Han Peiyuan collection. Source: R. Barnhart, *Master of the Lotus Garden*, Fig. 72
- Fig. 51 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui, 1880. Hanging scroll, red ink on paper, 95 x 39.8 cm, Shanghai Museum.
- Fig. 52 Yan Yuan 顏元, Zhong Kui, a copy of Ren Bonian's painting, undated. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, collection unknown. The original painting of Ren is now lost. We can trace the original composition and the colophon through this copy by Yan Yuan, Ren's student. Source: Wang Jingxian ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, vol. 2, p. 495.
- Fig. 53 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui, 1880. Hanging scroll, red ink on paper, 133.2 x 66.4 cm, Central Academy of Art, Beijing.
- Fig. 54 Ren Bonian, Writing on Banana Leaf, 1887. Folded fan, ink and colour on paper, 18.5 x 56.7 cm, Nanjing Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, vol. 2, p. 195.
- Fig. 55 Hua Yan, Writing on Banana Leaf, Undated. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, Shanghai Museum.
- Fig. 56 Ren Bonian, Golden Valley Garden 1888. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134 x 64 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, vol. 1, p. 67
- Fig. 57 Hua Yan, Golden Valley Garden. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, Shanghai Museum
- Fig. 58 Ren Bonian, Xie An and His Concubines 東山攜妓, 1891. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 182 x 96.2 cm, China Art Gallery, Beijing. Source: Xue Yongnian, *Master of Chinese Painting — Ren Bonian*, Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1994, p. 29.
- Fig. 59 Ren Bonian, Yuju in Meditation 玉局參禪, 1888. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 123 x 53 cm, Zhejiang Provincial Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, vol. 2, Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1995, p. 169
- Fig. 60 Ren Bonian, Listening to the Flute under a Pine Tree 松下聞簫, 1894. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 105 x 54.8 cm, China Art Gallery, Beijing. Source: Xue Yongnian, *Master of Chinese Painting — Ren Bonian*, Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1994, p. 29.
- Fig. 61 Ren Bonian, Xiaohong and Jiang Baishi, 1882. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 184 x 45.5 cm, China Art Gallery, Beijing. Source: China Art Gallery ed., *Ren Bonian jingpin ji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, plate 40.
- Fig. 62 Ren Bonian, Xiaohong and Jiang Baishi, 1882. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery, Beijing. Source: Zhang Xiaoling & Dong Yue ed., *Ren Bonian renwu huafeng*, Sichuan: Chongqing chubanshe, 1997, plate 23.
- Fig. 63 Ren Bonian, Xiaohong and Jiang Baishi, undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 145 x 41 cm, Xu Beihong Memorial Museum. Source: Mu Meihua ed., *Ren*

Bonian, Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1996, plate 177.

- Fig. 64 Ren Bonian, Xiaohong and Jiang Baishi, 1883. Hanging scroll, collection unknown. Source: Wang Jingxian ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, vol. 1, p. 159.
- Fig. 65 Yan Yuan, Xiaohong and Jiang Baishi after Ren Bonian. Sketch, ink on paper, China Art Gallery, Beijing. Source: Wang Jingxian ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, vol. 2, p. 494
- Fig. 66 Ren Bonian, Xie An and His Concubine 東山攜妓, Detail, 1891. Collection unknown. Source: Wang Jingxian ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, vol. 2, p. 327.
- Fig. 67 Wu Youru, Singsong Girls, Lithograph, late 19th century. Source: *Wu Youru huabao*, Shanghai: Guji shudian, 1983, vol. 1-3-1, p. 21.
- Fig. 68 Anonymous, Singsong Girls, Photograph, late 19th century Shanghai. Collection of the Archive Library, Shanghai History Museum.
- Fig. 69 Detail of Fig. 4
- Fig. 70 Map of Shanghai, from Hong Kong Directory, 1889. Source: Jonathan Hay, "Painting and the Built Environment in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai", *Chinese Art: Modern Expression*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum, 2001, p. 60.
- Fig. 71 Wu Youru, Assembly Place of Brothels in Shanghai, Lithograph, late 19th century. Source: Xue Liyong, *Shanghai jinüshi*, Hong Kong: Haifeng chubanshe, 1996, p. 107.
- Fig. 72 Wu Youru, *Huayang Yixin* 花樣一新, late 19th century. Lithograph. Source: Xue Liyong, *Shanghai jinü shi*, Hong Kong: Haifeng chubanshe, 1996, p. 101.
- Fig. 73 *Jupiao* 局票, a piece of paper booking an outing with courtesans, it reads "Mr. Zhang Xinbao calls Lin Xin. To the first room of Meiyuan Geisha House, at the junction of Pingwang Street and Sima Road. Serve wine and no delay". Photograph, late 19th century, The Archive Library of Shanghai History Museum.
- Fig. 74 Detail of Fig. 73. Sexuality, music and drinking were often involved in social occasions in Shanghai.
- Fig. 75 Anonymous, *Changsan jinü* playing majiang 麻將 with her patrons. Photograph, late 19th century. Source: *Zhuiyi—Jindai Shanghai tushi* 追憶—近代上海圖史 (Remembering—Illustrated history of Shanghai in recent times), Shanghai Archive Library ed., Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1996. p. 76
- Fig. 76 Anonymous, Courtesan carried by her male attendant *guinü* 龜奴 (turtle slave) on the street, possibly on their way to see a patron. Photograph, late 19th century, Archive Library, Shanghai History Museum.

- Fig. 77 Wu Youru, Brothels in Sima Road on Fire. Lithograph, late 19th century. Source: *Wu Youru huabao*, Shanghai: Guji shudian, 1983, vol. 3-11-2, p. 3.
- Fig. 78 Anonymous, Street Scene on Sima Road. Photograph, 1905, Shanghai History Museum.
- Fig. 79 Anonymous, Street Scene of Sima Road. Photograph, late 19th century. Source: *Shanghai bainian lueying* (Survey of Shanghai 1840~1940s), Shanghai History Museum ed., Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998, p. 205.
- Fig. 80 Fei Danshu, Confession Concerning Love & Sex 懺綺圖 (Yao Xie 姚燮 and his concubines), 1839. Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, 31 x 128.6 cm, The Palace Museum, Beijing.
- Fig. 81 Detail of Fig. 80.
- Fig. 82 Ren Bonian, Lady and Plum 梅花仕女, 1884. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 96 x 42.6 cm, Liaoning Provincial Museum. Source: *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 54, 1995, plate 18.
- Fig. 83 Anonymous, Portrait of Li Pingxiang 李萍香. Photograph, late 19th or early 20th century, Shanghai. Source: Xue Liyong, *Shanghai jintushi*, Hong Kong: Haifeng chubanshe, 1996, p.387.
- Fig. 84 Detail of the inscription by Yan Xinhou 嚴信厚, Ren Bonian, Portrait of Ge Zhonghua 葛仲華, 1873, Beijing Palace Museum (Fig. 185).
- Fig. 85 Ren Bonian, Loquats and Pheasant 枇杷雉雞, 1886, no size given, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery. Source: China Art Gallery ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, p. 9.
- Fig. 86 Ren Bonian, Cat on the Rock, 1889. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 92.3 x 48.1cm, Suzhou Museum. Source: *Ren Bonian*, Mu Meihua ed., Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1996, p. 116.
- Fig. 87 Ren Bonian, Bird and Magnolia Tree, 1893. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 242 x 120.5 cm, collection unknown. Source: *Chinese Art: Modern Expression*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum, 2001, p. 80, plate 18.
- Fig. 88 Wu Youru, Scene of Yu Garden, Lithograph, late 19th century. Source: *Wu Youru huabao*, Shanghai: Guji shudian, 1983, vol. 3-12-1, p. 2.
- Fig. 89 Yu Garden, Postcard, early 20th century, Shanghai History Museum.
- Fig. 90 Wu Youru, Courtesans Playing in a Billiard Saloon. Lithograph, late 19th century. Source: *Wu Youru huabao*, Shanghai: Guji shudian, 1983, vol. 1-3-1, p. 9.
- Fig. 91 Anonymous, Photograph of Four Famous Courtesans: (from the left) Lu lanfen 陸蘭芬, Lin Daiyuxu 林黛玉, Jin Xiaobao 金小寶 and Zhang Shuyu 張書玉 who visited Yu Garden every day. Photograph, late 19th century, Shanghai. Source: Xue Liyong,

- Fig. 92 Ren Bonian, Nong Yu 弄玉, 1870. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 76.8 x 40.5 cm, Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art. Source: *Ren Bonian*, Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988, plate 4
- Fig. 93 Ren Xiong, Nong Yu 弄玉, Woodblock print, 1886 (from *Liexian jiupai* 列仙酒牌, 1850); reprinted in *Ren Weichang xiansheng huazhuan sizhong*, Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1985, *Liexian jiupai*, p. 3
- Fig. 94 Wu Youru, Shuyu jinü Being Attacked on the Street. Lithograph, late 19th century. Source: *Wu Youru huabao*, Shanghai: Guji shudian, 1983, vol. 2-9-2, p.4
- Fig. 95 Ren Bonian, Ladies, 1888. Album of twelve leaves, ink and colour on paper, 24 x 38.2 cm, Beijing Palace Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1998, vol. 1, p. 134.
- Fig. 96 Wu Youru, Ladies, 1890 Album of twelve leaves, 27.2 x 33.5 cm, ink and colour on silk, Shanghai Museum. Source: *Chinese Paintings from the Shanghai Museum 1851-1911*, Edinburgh: National Museum of Scotland, 2000, p. 99, plate D.
- Fig. 97 Detail of Fig. 95
- Fig. 98 Detail of Fig. 94
- Fig. 99 Dianchuntang 點春堂, The guest hall of Yu Garden 豫園, where Ren Bonian's Examining a Knife under the Shade of a Tree (1888) has been displayed. Photograph, Shanghai, 2001.
- Fig. 100 Anonymous, Huxin Pavilion 湖心亭 of Yu Garden. Postcard, early 20th century, Collection of the Archive Library, Shanghai History Museum. Yu Garden area was the cultural centre of the old city.
- Fig. 101 Ren Bonian, Figure after Chen Hongshou, 1874, 137.3 x 32.6 cm, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum. Source: *Illustrated Catalogue of Selected Works of Ancient Chinese Painting and Calligraphy*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990, vol. 5, p. 419, Hu 1—4589.
- Fig. 102 Detail of fig. 101. Ren Bonian wrote: “Yuanxiao of the year of *jiaxu*, by candlelight [I] wrote this in the Fairy House of Crowded Flowers. 甲戌元宵秉燭寫於叢花仙館”. As “flowers” is a euphemism for courtesans, the “Fairy House of Crowded Flowers” suggests the residence of courtesans. This inscription might hint that Ren Bonian possibly celebrated the Lantern Festival until late at night in the pleasure quarters with his friends.
- Fig. 103 Ren Bonian, Carrying a *Qin* to Visit a Friend 攜琴訪友, 1883. Fan mounted as an album leave, ink and colour on silk fan face, 18 x 53 cm, Nanjing Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, Beijing: Hebei chubanshe, 1998, vol. 2, p. 190.

- Fig. 104 Detail of Fig. 103. This painting was dedicated to Xiangfu 祥甫 (Yuan Zuzhi 袁祖志)
- Fig. 105 Ren Bonian, Three Chivalrous Travellers, 1887, Hong Kong Art Gallery. Source: Zhang Xiaoling & Dong Yue ed., *Ren Bonian renwu huafeng*, Sichuan: Chongqing chubanshe, 1997, fig. 74.
- Fig. 106 Detail of Fig. 105, Hongfiji 紅拂妓
- Fig. 107 Detail of Fig. 105, Qiuranke 虬髯客
- Fig. 108 Ren Bonian, Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠, 1867. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 114.8 x 43.6 cm, Suzhou Museum. Source: *Ren Bonian*, Mu Meihua ed., Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1996, plate 5.
- Fig. 109 Fei Danxu, Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠, undated, 132 x 33 cm, ink and colour on silk, Private collection. Source: *Zhongguo jindai shuhua tumu*, Shanghai, 2001, p. 80
- Fig. 110 Ren Bonian, Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠, 1880, Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 122.7 x 47 cm, Shanghai Museum.
- Fig. 111 Ren Bonian, Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠, 1882. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 182.1 x 48.1 cm, Beijing Palace Museum. Source: Mu Meihua ed., *Ren Bonian*, Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1996, plate 53.
- Fig. 112 Detail of Fig. 110. Hongfuji wears an embroidered band *zhemaile* 遮眉勒, which was commonly used among ladies in the Jiangnan area.
- Fig. 113 Wu Youru, Courtesan Making Fun of Patrons, Detail. Lithograph, late 19th century. Source: *Wu Youru huabao*, Shanghai: Guji shudian, 1983, vol. 3, "Gujin cong'an", part 2, p. 15.
- Fig. 114 M. Miller, Portrait of a Shanghai Courtesan. Photograph, 1861~1864. Source: *Shaying zhongguo*, Taipei: Xiongshi tushu gongsi, 1998.
- Fig. 115 Anonymous, Portrait of Sai Jinhua 賽金花. Photograph, early 20th century, Shanghai. Source: Xue Liyong, *Shanghai jinüshi*, Hong Kong: Haifeng chubanshe, 1996, p. 402.
- Fig. 116 Ren Bonian, Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠, 1887. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 82 x 149.5 cm, Affiliate School of Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing. Source: *Yiqu yu jishu — Ming Qing huihua toxi guoji xueshu taolunhui tezhan tulu*, (New interpretation of Ming and Qing painters), Shanghai, 1994, plate 73
- Fig. 117 Attributed to Ren Bonian, Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠, 1886. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, collection of Tsai Chen-Nan, Taipei. Source: *Mingjia Hanmo*, no. 28, 1992.5, p.99

- Fig. 118 Detail of Fig. 108, Li Jing
- Fig. 119 Detail of Fig. 110, Li Jing and Hongfuji
- Fig. 120 Detail of Fig. 116, Li Jing and Hongfuji
- Fig. 121 Ren Bonian, Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly 關河一望蕭索, 131.7 x 31.7 cm, ink and colour on paper, Nanjing Museum. Source: Mu Meihua ed., *Ren Bonian*, Taipei: jinxiu chubanshe, 1996, p.81.
- Fig. 122 Figure and Horse, undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 115.5 x 43.5 cm, Beijing Palace Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, Hebei Meishu chubanshe, 1998, vol. 1, p. 77
- Fig. 123 Figure and Horse, 1890, 96 x 50.7 cm, ink and colour on paper, Lin Zongyi, Tokyo. Source: Tsuruta Takeyoshi, *Modern Chinese Painting*, Tokyo, 1974, plate 48
- Fig. 124 Hua Yan, Reining in a Horse at the Border, undated, Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 124 x 57.1 cm, Shanghai Museum. Source: Shan Guolin ed., *Hua Yan shuhuaqi*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987, p.29
- Fig. 125 Detail of Fig. 124
- Fig. 126 Ren Bonian, Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly 關河一望蕭索, 1885. Album of ten leaves, ink and colour on paper, Beijing Palace Museum. Source: Wang Jingxian ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, vol. 1, p. 219
- Fig. 127 Ren Bonian, Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly, 1885, collection unknown. Source: Wang Jingxian ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, volume 2, p. 227
- Fig. 128 Ren Bonian, Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly 關河一望蕭索, 1882, Album Leaf, ink and colour on paper, 31.5 x 36cm, Beijing Palace Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1998, vol. 1, p.139
- Fig. 129 Ren Bonian, Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly 關河一望蕭索, 1883. Album leaf, ink and colour on paper, 38 x 63 cm, Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art. Source: *Ren Bonian*, Mu Meihua ed., Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1996, p. 73.
- Fig. 130 Ren Bonian, Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly, 1888. Album of twelve leaves, ink and colour on paper, 24 x 38.2 cm, Beijing Palace Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, 1998, vol. 1, p. 133.
- Fig. 131 Anonymous, Portrait of Ten Beauties 十美圖, Detail: Courtesan (on the right) dressed in male costume. Photograph, early 20th Century, Shanghai. Source: Shanghai History Museum ed., *Shanghai bainian lueying* (Survey of Shanghai 1840~1940s), Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998, p. 205.

- Fig. 132 Anonymous, Huile li 會樂里, the assembly place of brothels, back lane of Sima Road, Shanghai. Photograph, early 20th century. Source: Shanghai History Museum ed., *Shanghai bainian lueying* (Survey of Shanghai 1840~1940s), Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998, p. 204.
- Fig. 133 Detail of Fig. 132, Hua Mulan 花木蘭 was used as flower-name by Shanghai courtesans.
- Fig. 134 Ren Bonian, An Outing, 1885. Sketch, China Art Gallery. Source: Wang Jingxian ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, p. 463.
- Fig. 135 Ren Bonian, Weaver, 1888. Woodblock print. Chao Xun ed., *Jieziyuan huazhuan*, vol. 4 (Figure painting), 1897, Shanghai; reprinted Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1995, p. 310.
- Fig. 136 Ren Bonian, Boys Playing with Crickets 童子鬥蟋蟀, 1887. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, China Art Gallery, Beijing. Source: China Art Gallery ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, plate 12.
- Fig. 137 Ren Bonian, Selling Meat 賣肉圖, 1881, 33 x 135 cm, ink and colour on paper, Affiliate School of Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing. Source: *New Interpretation of Ming and Qing Painters*, Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 1994, plate 72.
- Fig. 138 Ren Bonian, Man on a Bridge 溪橋小解, 1889. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 93.7 x 61.6 cm, Gift of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth, the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Source: Wen C. Fong, *Between Two Cultures*, New York: the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001, plate 10
- Fig. 139 Ren Bonian, Street Acrobat and Monkey 戲猴女, 1888. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 93 x 52 cm, Fan Jia, Hong Kong. Source: *Mingjia hanmo*, no. 28, May 1992, p.31
- Fig. 140 Anonymous, Street Acrobats. Photograph, early 20th century, Shanghai History Museum.
- Fig. 141 Yan Yuan, Zhong Kui after a Painting by Ren Bonian (1878), Sketch, ink on paper, collection unknown. Source: Wang Jingxian ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, p. 495
- Fig. 142 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui Killing a Fox 鍾馗斬狐, 1878. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 133.8 x 65.2 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery. Source: Mu Meihua ed., *Ren Bonian*, Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1996, p. 33
- Fig. 143 Wu Youru, *Youji xiefen* 誘妓洩憤 (Releasing anger on a courtesan). Detail of the figures. Lithograph, late 19th century. Source: *Wu Youru huabao*, Shanghai: Gujishudian, 1983, vol. 3, "Gujin tancong tu" part 2, p. 10.

- Fig. 144 Detail of Fig. 142, facial expression of Zhong Kui.
- Fig. 145 Detail of Fig. 142, facial expression of the fox.
- Fig. 146 Chen Yunsheng 陳允升, *Renzhai huasheng* 綢齋畫牘, Shanghai, 1923. Ren Bonian did a plain-drawing portrait of Chen Yunsheng at the age of fifty eight, and later Chen reproduced it into a print appended in his book.
- Fig. 147 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Liusheng 榴生小像 1868. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 128.2 x 47.8 cm, Nanjing Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, part II, Hebei: Meishu chubanshe, 1995, p. 143
- Fig. 148 Ren Bonian, Unidentified Portrait 佚名肖像, 1880. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 120 x 53 cm, Private Collection. Source: *Ren Bonian*, Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, plate 41
- Fig. 149 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Lu Shucheng 陸書成, 1884, detail of the face. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 120.3 x 50.6 cm, Zhejiang Provincial Museum, *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 18, p. 45
- Fig. 150 Anonymous, Qing dynasty (1644~1912), Diagrammatic Illustration of Portrait Head Features. Woodblock illustration. Source: *Jieziyuan huazhuan*, 1818 edition, ser. 4, chapter 1, p. 3b
- Fig. 151 Anonymous, Qing dynasty, Diagrammatic Illustration of Portrait Head Features. Woodblock illustration. Source: *Jieziyuan huazhuan*, 1818 edition, ser. 4, chapter 1, 3a
- Fig. 152 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Retired Scholar of Fan Lake at the age of 42 范湖居士四十二歲小像 (portrait of Zhou Xian 周閑, 1820~1879), 1867. 129 x 49.5 cm, ink and colour on paper, Zhejiang Provincial Museum (also see Fig. 11)
- Fig. 153 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Sha Fu at the age of Thirty-nine 沙馥三十九歲小像, 1868. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 128.6 x 32.3 cm, Nanjing Museum
- Fig. 154 Ren Bonian, Mi Fu Paying Homage to a Stone 米芾拜石, Undated. Fan, ink and colour on paper, 28 x 27.6 cm, Nanjing Museum. Source: Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., *Ren Bonian*, Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, plate 198
- Fig. 155 Ren Bonian, Mi Fu Paying Homage to a Stone 米芾拜石, 1893, Fan, ink and colour on silk fan face, 21 x 21 cm, Affiliated Middle School of the Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing
- Fig. 156 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Zhang Zixiang At the Age of Seventy 張子祥七十歲小像, 1872. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, Private collection. Source: Richard Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraiture 1600~1900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, Fig. 67
- Fig. 157 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Wu Changshuo Enjoying the Shade Beneath Coir Palms 吳

昌碩棕蔭納涼, 1887, Private collection. Source: *Zhongguo meishu*, 1980, no. 1:35; Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, Fig. 71.

- Fig. 158 Luo Pin 羅聘, Portrait of Jin Nong in His Noon Nap 金冬心午睡圖, 1760, ink and light colour on paper, Shanghai Museum
- Fig. 159 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Anonymous 佚名肖像, Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery, Beijing. Source: *Yiyuan duoyin*, no. 10, p.33
- Fig. 160 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Wu Changshuo Enjoying the Cool Shade of Banana Palms 蕉蔭納涼, Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 129.5 x 58.9 cm, Zhejiang Provincial Museum
- Fig. 161 Anonymous, Photograph of Wu Changshuo. Source: Lu Fusheng ed., *Haishang huihua chuanji*, Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 2001, vol. 5, pp. 1004
- Fig. 162 Ren Bonian & Yin Yuan, Wu Changshuo Returning Home 吳昌碩歸田圖, Detail of the figure, 115.5 x 53.3 cm, ink and colour on paper, Zhejiang Provincial Museum
- Fig. 163 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Feng Gengsan Reading Poetry 馮耕三讀古詩小象 (Draft), 1877. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 127.4 x 55.2 cm, Shanghai Museum
- Fig. 164 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Feng Gengsan Reading Poetry 馮耕三讀古詩小象, 1877. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 127.4 x 55.2 cm, Shanghai Museum
- Fig. 165 Detail of Fig. 163
- Fig. 166 Detail of Fig. 164
- Fig. 167 Ren Bonian, Three Friends 三友圖, Detail of painter's inscription, 1883. Beijing Palace Museum. Cf. Fig. 150.
- Fig. 168 Ren Bonian, Hu Yuan, Yang Borun and Chen Yunsheng, Gathering at Tingyulou 聽雨樓圖, 1877. Hand scroll, ink and colour on paper, 48 x 180 cm, Changzhou City Wenwu Shangdian 常州市文物商店. Source: *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988, vol. 6, Su 16-35
- Fig. 169 Detail of Fig. 168.
- Fig. 170 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Hengyun Mountain Man As a Beggar 橫雲山民行乞圖, 1868, 147 x 42 cm, ink and colour on paper, Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing
- Fig. 171 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Gao Yongzhi As a Calligrapher-Beggar 高邕之書丐圖, 1887. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 130.7 x 65.3 cm, Beijing Palace Museum
- Fig. 172 *Chengshi moyuan* 程氏墨苑 (Mr. Cheng's Ink Remains), Cheng Junfang ed., 1606. Source: *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan*, vol. 6, part II, Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1994, p. 1-16

- Fig. 173 P. Geronimo Nadal, *Illustrations pour l'Évangile*, 1592, Antwerp, plate 5, 8, 9.
Source: "Chūgoku no yōfuga" ten, Kōno Hinou ed., Tokyo: Shimbun, 1995, p. 476
- Fig. 174 Gaspar Ferreura, S. J. ed., *Song nianzhu guicheng* 誦念珠規程 (Méthode pour la récitation du Rosaire), 1624, Nanjing. Source: "Chūgoku no yōfuga" ten, Kōno Hinou ed., Tokyo: Shimbun, 1995, p. 476
- Fig. 175 P. Geronimo Nadal, *Illustrations pour l'Évangile*, 1592, Antwerp
- Fig. 176 *Tianzhu jiangsheng zhuxiang jingjie* 天主降生主像經解, Giulio Aleni, S. J. ed., Jingjiaotang 景教堂, Jinjiang 晉江, 1637
- Fig. 177 Valentinus Garnier 倪懷綸 ed., *Daoyuan jingcui* 道原精萃, Shanghai: Tushanwan, 1888; Beijing University Library
- Fig. 178 Anonymous, Photograph of Liu Bizhen and His Students on Liu's Seventieth Birthday, the Craft and Art School of Tushanwan Orphanage, Shanghai, 1912.
Source: Chen Yaowang, *Nisu zhi shenshou ye – Zhang Chongren de yishu rensheng* 泥塑之神手也—張充仁的藝術人生 (Master of sculpture – The artistic life of Zhang Chungren), Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 2003, p. 9.
- Fig. 179 Xujiahui, Shanghai. Photograph, late Qing dynasty, Shanghai History Museum.
- Fig. 180 Building and Environment of the Craft Factory of Tushanwan, Shanghai.
Photograph, late Qing dynasty, Shanghai History Museum.
- Fig. 181 Painting Studio in Tushanwan, Shanghai. Photographs, late Qing dynasty, Shanghai History Museum.
- Fig. 182 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Ren Xun 任薰像, 1868, 116.5 x 31 cm, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery, Beijing. Source: *Ren Bonian jingpin ji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, plate 5
- Fig. 183 Detail of Fig. 182.
- Fig. 184 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Wu Gan 吳淦像 1878. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 130 x 56.6 cm, Beijing Palace Museum
- Fig. 185 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Ge Zhonghua 葛仲華像, 1873. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 118.6 x 60.3 cm, Beijing Palace Museum
- Fig. 186 Sketch Manual, ed. Tushanwan, Shanghai, Late 19th century. Source: *Zhongguo xihua wushi nian*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1989, plate 1
- Fig. 187 Zhang Ziciang, "Zhuose yaozhi 著色要旨" (Master Zhang Zixiang's method of application of colour), *Zhang Zixiang ketu huagao* 張子祥課徒畫稿, Shanghai, 1882; reprinted Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984, p. 1
- Fig. 188 "Auction on Monday 禮拜一拍賣", *Shen Bao*, 1878.10.20

- Fig. 189 Ren Bonian, Portrait of the Poverty-Stricken Military Official 酸寒尉像 (Portrait of Wu Changshuo), 1888, Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 164.2 x 77.6 cm, Zhejiang Provincial Museum
- Fig. 190 Ren Bonian, Portrait of an Anonymous Figure, Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, Private collection. Source: *Rongbaozhai huapu — Qing Ren Yi hui renwu (I) 榮寶齋畫譜—清任頤繪人物 (一)*, Tang Hui ed., Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1996, p.25
- Fig. 191 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Zhang Yisan 張益三像, 1880. Handscroll, 39.6 x 82.5 cm, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery.
- Fig. 192 M. Miller, Cotton Broker, Canton, 1861~4. Photograph. Source: *Imperial China — Photographs 1850~1912*, New York, 1978, p. 46.
- Fig. 193 Detail of Fig. 190
- Fig. 194 Wu Youru 吳友如, "Xifa lianyin 西法聯姻" (Seeking for a Wife in a Western Way), Detail. Lithograph, late 19th century, Shanghai. Source: *Haiguo tushuo 海國圖說*, reprinted in Zhuang Ziwan ed., *Haiguo congtao baitu 海國叢談百圖*, Hunan: Meishu chubanshe, 1998, p.31
- Fig. 195 Anonymous, Wu Changshuo and a Japanese Friend. Photograph, early 20th century. Source: Lu Fusheng ed., *Haipai huihua chuanji*, Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 2001, vol. 5, pp. 967.
- Fig. 196 Attributed to Prince De Ling, Empress Dowager Cixi posed in a scene that portrays her as the Guanyin, photograph, 1903. Li Lianying, the notorious chief eunuch, is at the right. Source: *The Face of China, As Seen by Photographers and Travelers, 1860~1912*, New York: Aperture, 1978, p. 54.
- Fig. 197 W. Saunders, Wet Weather, Shanghai, 1864~85, studio photograph. Source: *Imperial China — Photographs 1850~1912*, New York, 1978, p. 117.
- Fig. 198 M. Miller, Shopkeepers at Canton, 1861~4, Photograph. Source: *Imperial China — Photographs 1850~1912*, New York: Pennwick, 1978, p. 50.
- Fig. 199 Liu Zhiping, Li Shutong and Feng Zikai Photograph, early Twentieth Century (c. 1920) Source: Lu Fusheng ed., *Haipai huihua chuanji*, Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 2001, vol. 5, pp. 993
- Fig. 200 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Three Friends 三友圖 1883. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 63.5 x 36.1 cm, Beijing Palace Museum. See also Fig. 116.
- Fig. 201 Anonymous, People Looking at Reproduced Prints. Photograph, late Qing dynasty. Source: F. Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa*, Berlin, 1989, Tafel 5.
- Fig. 202 Anonymous, Portrait of Ten Beauties of Shanghai. Photograph, late Qing dynasty. The sitters were famous courtesans in late nineteenth-century Shanghai. Source: Sun

Yanjing ed., *Wan Qing yiyi*, Shandong: Shandong huabao chubanshe, 2000, Fig. 19

Fig. 203 Anonymous, Chinese Artist Copying a Photograph for the Export Trade, Photograph, Hong Kong, 1860s. Source: *Imperial China — Photographs 1850~1912*, New York: Pennwick, 1978, p. 77

Fig. 204 Anonymous, Photograph of Ren Bonian at the Age of 49. Source: Mu Meihua ed., *Ren Bonian*, Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, p. 1

Fig. 205 Xu Beihong, Portrait of Ren Bonian [after a photograph], Undated. Oil painting on canvas, Xu Beihong Memorial Gallery. Source: Chen Zongrui ed., *Ren Bonian huaji* 任伯年畫集, Taipei: Dongya yinban youxian gongsi, 1953, p. 7

Fig. 206 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Jiang Shinong 姜石農像 (1827~?), 1877, Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 49 x 46.4 cm, Suzhou Museum. Source: *Yiyuan duoying*, no.10, p. 27

Fig. 207 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Jiang Shinong 姜石農像, 1877. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 74.9 x 48.4 cm, Suzhou Museum

Fig. 208 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Mr. Fanshi 飯石先生小象 (Jiang Shinong), 1877, Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 49 x 46.4 cm, Source: *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 18, p. 25

Fig. 209 Takahashi Yūichi 高橋由一 Self-Portrait, 1866~7. Oil painting on canvas, 47.8 x 38.6 cm, Takahashi family. Source: Teiichi Hijikata ed., *Takahashi Yūichi gashū* 高橋由一畫集, Tokyo: Kotansha, 1972, plate 1

Fig. 210 Anonymous, Portrait of Kawakami Tōgai 川上冬崖 (1827~1881), Photograph, late nineteenth-century. Source: Aoki Mo 青木茂 ed., *Historical Document for Meiji Yōga Painting — Memoir* 明治洋畫史料—懷想篇, Tokyo: Chūō Kuronsha, 1985, plate 2.

Fig. 211 Kishida Ryūsei 岸田劉生, Portrait of Kishida Ginkō, 1925.1.24, Size and material not given, Private collection. Source: Stephan Graf von der Schulenburg, *Natur und Innenwelt*, Heidelberg: Wunderhorn, 2000, plate 3.

Fig. 212 Kishida Ginkō, Letter to Takahashi Yūichi, 1868.8.18. Source: Aoki Mo 青木茂 ed., *Historical Document for Meiji Yōga Painting — Records* 明治洋畫史料—紀錄篇, Tokyo: Chūō Kuronsha, 1985, p. 29, Letter No. 10

Fig. 213 Takahashi Yūichi, Shanghai Toko Zukan 上海渡航圖卷 (Journey to Shanghai), 1867. Detail of Section 3, Handscroll, ink and light colour on paper, 27.5 x 515 cm, Library of Tokyo Art University. Source: *Takahashi Yūichi ten*, Kanagawa County Gallery of Contemporary Art, 1994, plate. 98-3.

Fig. 214 Takahashi Yūichi, Shanghai Nisshi 上海日誌 (Shanghai Diary), 1867. Album of twelve folded leaves, light colour on paper, 23 x 18.5 cm, Library of Tokyo Art University. Source: Teiichi Hijikata ed., *The Collected Paintings of Yuichi Takahashi*,

Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1974, p. 139.

- Fig. 215 Scene of Shanghai City
- Fig. 216 Huxin Ting (Lakeside Pavilion) in Yu Garden, Shanghai
- Fig. 217 *Shanghai Nisshi*, Detail. List of Chinese persons introduced to Takahashi Yūichi. The names include that of Ren Bonian's teacher Zhang Zixiang (last column).
- Fig. 218 Portrait of Kishida Ginkō, 1867.1.21
- Fig. 219 Takahashi Yūichi, Portrait of Madame Inamura, 1884. Oil painting on silk, 41.4 x 31 cm, Private collection. Source: *Takahashi Yūichi ten*, Kanagawa County Gallery of Contemporary Art, 1994, plate 68
- Fig. 220 Anonymous, Madame Inamura and Her Daughter, Undated.. Photograph. Source: *Takahashi Yūichi ten*, Kanagawa County Gallery of Contemporary Art, 1994, plate 68-2.
- Fig. 221 Takahashi Yūichi, Portrait of Suzuki Seimi, 1881. Oil painting on canvas, 45.8 x 38.3 cm, Fukushima County Art Gallery. Source: *Takahashi Yūichi ten*, Kanagawa County Gallery of Contemporary Art, 1994, plate 61
- Fig. 222 Anonymous, Portrait of Suzuki Seimi, Undated. Photograph. Source: *Takahashi Yūichi ten*, Kanagawa County Gallery of Contemporary Art, 1994, plate 61-2.
- Fig. 223 Nian Xiyao, *Shixue* 視學, 1729. Source: "*Chūgoku no yōfuga*" *ten*, Kōno Hinou ed., Tokyo: Shimbun, 1995, p. 450a
- Fig. 224 Nian Xiyao, *Shixue* 視學, 1729. Source: "*Chūgoku no yōfuga*" *ten*, Kōno Hinou ed., Tokyo: Shimbun, 1995, p. 450b
- Fig. 225 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum*, published in 1693 and 1700. Source: Kōno Hinou ed., "*Chūgoku no yōfuga*" *ten*, Tokyo: Shimbun, 1995, p. 450
- Fig. 226 Wu Youru, Portrait of Zeng Jize 曾紀澤, Lithograph after *London Illustrated News* 插圖倫敦新報. *Dianshizhai huabao*, No. 20, 1884.5.27
- Fig. 227 Anonymous, Portrait of Zeng Jize 曾紀澤, Steel engraving, *London Illustrated News* 插圖倫敦新報, 1884.1.5. Source: R. Wagner, "Jinru quanqiu xiangxiang tujing: Shanghai de 'Dianshizhai huabao'", *Zhongguo xueshu*, no. 8, 2001, Fig. 9
- Fig. 228 An advertisement of Western paintings for sale, *Shen Bao*, 4th day of the twelfth month, *renshen* 壬申 year (1873.1.2)
- Fig. 229 Wu Youru, "Weimiao weiqiao 惟妙惟肖" (True to Life), Lithograph. Source: *Wu Youru huabao* 吳友如畫寶, Shanghai: Guji shudian, 1983, vol. 2-6-1, "Haiguo congtao tu 海國叢談圖", pp. 23
- Fig. 230 Wu Youru, Children at Play 嬰戲圖, 1892. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper,

120 x 64, Private collection.

- Fig. 231 Wu Guxiang 吳穀祥 (1848~1903), *Sunset at Lake Tai* 具區湧金, 1887, 32.6 x 40.4 cm, ink and colour on paper, National Palace Museum, Taipei. Source: *Spirit Resonance: Chinese and Western Painting Styles in the Late Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2, edited and published by the National Palace Museum, Taipei, 1993, p.107
- Fig. 232 Qian Huian 錢慧安 (1833~1911), *Guanyin* 觀音, 1908. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 142.1 x 25.8 cm, National Palace Museum, Taipei. Source: National Palace Museum ed., *Spirit Resonance: Chinese and Western Painting Styles in the Late Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1993, p.71
- Fig. 233 Mr. Shitang Welcoming Customers 詩堂先生迎賓圖, 1870. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 127.5 x 54 cm, Guangzhou Art Gallery. Source: *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 25, 1985, p. 42
- Fig. 234 Detail of Fig. 233
- Fig. 235 Ren Bonian, Parting at Dongjin 東津話別, 1868. Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, 34.1 x 135.8 cm, China Art Gallery, Beijing
- Fig. 236 Detail of Fig. 235. Portrait of Ren Bonian, the second figure from the right.
- Fig. 237 Attributed to Ren Bonian, Guanyin with Child 送子觀音, 1883 Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 80 x 34 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery
- Fig. 238 Attributed to Ren Bonian, Guanyin with Child 送子觀音, 1883. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, Cheng Shifa collection, Shanghai
- Fig. 239 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Zhao Xiaoyun 趙嘯雲像, 1883. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 137 x 64 cm, Zhejiang Provincial Museum
- Fig. 240 Detail of Fig. 237, the figure's facial expression.
- Fig. 241 Detail of Fig. 237, the brushwork of the folds.
- Fig. 242 Detail of Fig. 239, the lively facial expression of Zhao Xiaoyun.
- Fig. 243 Detail of Fig. 239, the folds of Zhao Xiaoyun's garment.
- Fig. 244 Ren Bonian, Congratulations on an Official Promotion 加官晉爵, 1883. Detail of the figures. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Zhejiang Provincial Museum
- Fig. 245 Two questionable seals of the "Congratulations on an Official Promotion 加官晉爵": the upper one reads "Yi Yin 頤印" in relief, the lower one reads "Bonian 伯年" in intaglio.
- Fig. 246 Attributed to Ren Bonian, Two Seated Elders 二老并坐圖, 1874. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 116 x 57.8 cm, Tianjin People's Fine Art Publisher
- Fig. 247 Ren Bonian, Gods of Literature and the Martial Arts 文昌關羽像, 1882. Hanging

scroll, ink and colour on paper, 137.5 x 68.5 cm, Shanghai Museum

Fig. 248 Detail of Fig. 246

Fig. 249 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui 鍾馗, 1874. Detail of calligraphy, Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing

Fig. 250 Ren Bonian, Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊, 1874. Detail of calligraphy, Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing

Fig. 251 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui 鍾馗, 1874. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Private Collection.

Fig. 252 Attributed to Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui 鍾馗, 1883. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 171.4 x 93.4 cm, Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Fig. 253 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui 鍾馗, Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum

Fig. 254 Attributed to Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui 鍾馗, Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 83.5 x 50.5 cm, Zheng Qiaozhi 鄭僑志 collection, Singapore. Source: *Chinese Painting from the Asian Manila Foundation*, edited and published by Chang Foundation, Taipei, 1994, p. 174.

Fig. 255 Detail of Fig. 253

Fig. 256 Detail of Fig. 254

Fig. 257 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui 鍾馗, Undated. Detail of the signature, Shanghai Museum

Fig. 258 Attributed to Ren Bonian Zhong Kui 鍾馗, Undated. Detail of the signature, Zheng Qiaozhi collection, Singapore. Source: *Chinese Painting from the Asian Manila Foundation*, edited and published by Chang Foundation, Taipei, 1994, p. 174.

Fig. 259 “Haichang Qian Jingtang yin 海昌錢鏡塘印”, Stamped on Ren Bonian (attr.), Zhong Kui, undated, Zheng Qiaozhi collection, Singapore. Source: *Chinese Painting from the Asian Manila Foundation*, edited and published by Chang Foundation, Taipei, 1994, p. 174.

Fig. 260 Authentic seal of Qian Jing Tang “Qian Jingtang jianding Ren Bonian zhenji zhiyin 錢鏡塘鑑定任伯年真蹟之印”. Detail of Ren Bonian, “Album of Birds and Flowers”, undated, six leaves, Shanghai Museum.

Fig. 261 Authentic seal of Qian Jing Tang “Qian Jingtang jianding Ren Bonian zhenji zhiyin 錢鏡塘鑑定任伯年真蹟之印”. Detail of Ren Bonian, No Fragrance 無香味圖 (Portrait of Monk Dadian), undated, China Art Gallery, Beijing.

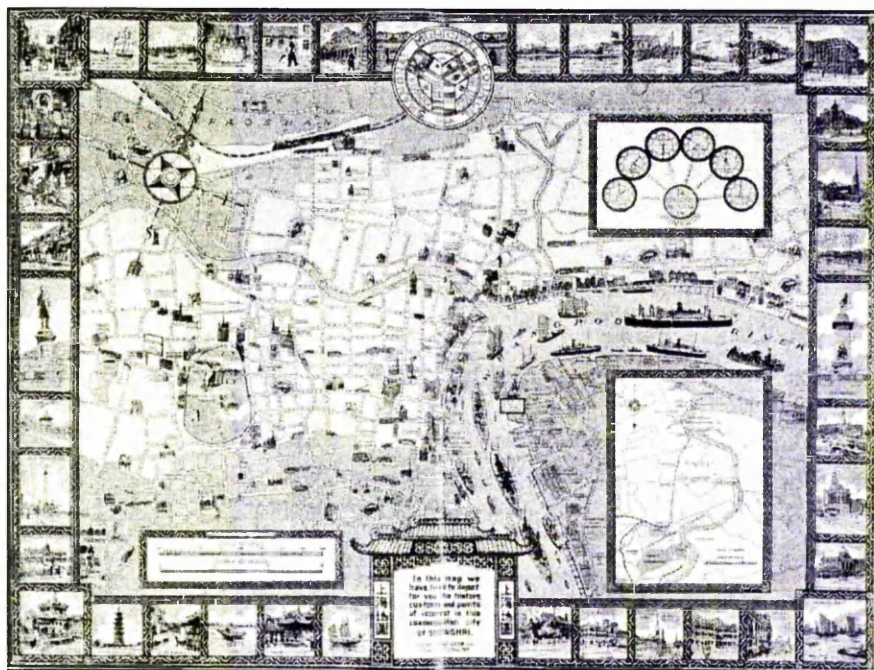
Fig. 262 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui Carrying a Broken Fan 墨筆破扇鍾馗 1891. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Zhejiang Provincial Museum

- Fig. 263 Attributed to Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui Carrying a Broken Fan 墨筆破扇鍾馗 1891. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum
- Fig. 264 Attributed to Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui Carrying a Broken Fan 墨筆破扇鍾馗, 1891. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 110 x 62.2 cm, Private Collection.
- Fig. 265 Attributed to Ren Bonian Listening to the Music under the Pine 松下賞音, 1895. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Private Collection. Source: Hanhai Auction House 瀚海'95 春季拍賣會, Spring 1995, catalogue plate 292
- Fig. 266 Ren Bonian, Xie Dongshan and His Concubines 謝東山攜妓圖, 1891. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 182.2 x 96.4 cm, China Art Gallery, Beijing (See also Fig. 58)
- Fig. 267 Ni Tian, Talking about Dao under the Pine 松蔭論道, 1907. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on painting, 148.6 x 78.5 cm, Shanghai Museum
- Fig. 268 Inscription by Ni Tian, Detail of Fig. 267
- Fig. 269 Inscription by Ren Bonian, Detail of Fig. 58, 266
- Fig. 270 Ni Tian Tending Buffalo on a Spring Meadow 春風得意圖, 1916. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 136.8 x 66.5 cm, Shi Yunwen, Tainan
- Fig. 271 Ren Bonian, Tending Buffalo 牧牛圖, 1888. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 133 x 63.2 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Fig. 272 Detail of Fig. 270
- Fig. 273 Detail of Fig. 271
- Fig. 274 Ren Xia An Outing 記遊, Woodcut print, published in Chao Xun's edition of *Jieziyuan huazhuan siji* 芥子園畫傳四集, (Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting), Shanghai, vol. 5, 1897
- Fig. 275 Ren Bonian, Sketch for An Outing 記遊畫稿, 1885, Sketch, ink on paper, China Art Gallery, Beijing
- Fig. 276 Ren Xia Lady Gongsun's Sword Dance 公孫大娘舞劍圖. Woodcut print, published in Chao Xun's edition of *Jieziyuan huazhuan siji* 芥子園畫傳四集 (Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting), Shanghai, vol. 5, 1897
- Fig. 277 Ren Bonian, Lady Gongsun's Sword Dance 公孫大娘舞劍圖, 1885. Sketch, ink on paper, China Art Gallery, Beijing
- Fig. 278 Li Fu, Xiaohong Singing 小紅低唱, 1891. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 177 x 46 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Fig. 279 Ren Bonian, Xiaohong Singing 小紅低唱, 1882. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 184 x 45.5 cm, China Art Gallery, Beijing

- Fig. 280 Li Fu's inscription, Detail of Fig. 278
- Fig. 281 Detail of inscription of Fig. 283.
- Fig. 282 Detail of Fig. 266
- Fig. 283 Attributed to Ren Bonian, Peony and Double Cocks 牡丹雙雞, 1891. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 148.5 x 39.8 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery
- Fig. 284 Two False Seals, detail of Fig. 283.
- Fig. 285 Two Genuine Seals
- Fig. 286 Two Genuine Seals
- Fig. 287 Yu Li, Lady with Birthday Peaches, 1886. Woodcut print, *Tingylou huapu* 聽雨樓畫譜 (The Painting Manual of The Chamber of Listening to the Rain), Shanghai, 1889
- Fig. 288 Ren Bonian, Magu Offering Birthday Wishes 麻姑獻壽, Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 142.8 x 34.4 cm, Nanjing Museum
- Fig. 289 Yu Li, Figure with a Horse, 1886-89, Woodcut Print, *Tingyulou huapu* 聽雨樓畫譜 (The Painting Manual of The Chamber of Listening to the Rain)
- Fig. 290 Ren Bonian, Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly 關河一望蕭索, 1882, Album Leaf, ink and colour on paper, 31.5 x 36cm, Beijing Palace Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1998, vol. 1, p.139
- Fig. 291 Yu Li, Mi Fu Bowing to the Stone 米芾拜石, 1886. Woodcut print, *Tingyulou huapu* 聽雨樓畫譜, Shanghai, 1889.
- Fig. 292 Ren Bonian, Mi Fu Bowing to the Stone 米芾拜石, 1882. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 126 x 53 cm, China Art Gallery, Beijing
- Fig. 293 Ren Bonian, Mi Fu Bowing to the Stone 米芾拜石, woodcut print, from *Ren Bonian zhenji huapu* 任伯年真跡畫譜, Shanghai, 1887 (Manual of Authentic Paintings of Ren Bonian)

VOLUME I

I. INTRODUCTION



I. In Time and Space

In the year 1839, the Opium War between the British Empire and China marked the beginning of the modern era of Chinese history. Ren Yi 任頤 (normally known as Bonian 伯年, 1840~1895), a painter who is rightly considered to be the most influential and the brightest figure in nineteenth-century Chinese art history, was born in a year later in Xiaoshan 蕭山, Zhejiang Province 浙江省. In his early life, he encountered many hardships brought about by historical events, such as the Taiping rebellion, and for 27 years he lived through the most troubled times in Shanghai. Like many of his contemporaries, Ren Bonian's life was very much entangled with social and economic change in the international city where new and old, local and foreign enterprises were assembled at that time. On this account, his paintings often present a strong visual effect and delightful mood, as well as novelty, popularity and diversity, and Ren is regarded as a major figure of the Shanghai School. In his foreword to a recent exhibition of "Chinese Paintings from Shanghai Museum", Roderick Whitfield has written that such paintings "reveal a lively artistic scene in late nineteenth-century Shanghai that is quite at odds with the conventional idea of a culture in decline at the end of the Qing dynasty."¹ It suggests issues we should discuss carefully: what was the relationship between the changes in society and artistic directions? How do these help us to understand the artistic trends in Shanghai at that time? Did

¹ Roderick Whitfield, Preface for *Chinese Paintings from Shanghai Museum 1851~1911*, exhibition catalogue, Edinburgh, 2000

Shanghai offer a more favourable milieu for artistic gatherings and the art market? To what degree does Ren Bonian's artistic performance echo the changes that were taking place in society?

The development of Chinese painting of the late Qing should be concerned not simply with the painters and their art, but with their thinking and artistic activities, both individual and collective, within the framework of their particular historical situations. In the hope of providing an understanding of the cultural life of the city, we would like to begin with a historical and social expedition to the world inhabited by painters such as Ren Bonian and his contemporaries.

A. Exile and Memory

Well located in the middle of the east coast of China and south of the Yangzi Delta, Shanghai is a natural port with a rich supply of agricultural products from the Lake Tai area. The city began its development in the late Southern Song dynasty, and became an official business port (*shibosi* 市舶司) under the Mongol regime in 1277. By the mid-Ming dynasty, Shanghai was the largest centre of the trade in cotton textiles and an important port of the south-eastern coast. After the Kangxi emperor of the early Qing re-opened the sea trade and set up a customs house in Shanghai, the city was filled with vigorous business activities.² As recorded in the *Gazetteer of Shanghai* in the 49th year of the Qianlong period (1784),

² The checking point was set up in Shanghai in the 24th year of Kangxi (1685). See Ying Baoshi 應寶時, *Shanghai xianzhi* 上海縣志 (Gazetteer of Shanghai), 1872, chapter 1; reprinted in Taipei: Chengwen Publisher, 1975, p.122

After the establishment of the customs house in Shanghai, most of the trading moved from Wusong River towards Huangpu Shore, there were always crowds of trading ships and sailing boats outside the east gate of Shanghai.³

自海關設立，凡遠近貿運皆由吳淞江進泊黃浦，城東門外，軸艫相接，帆牆比櫛。

In the Jiaqing period 嘉靖 (1796-1820), Shanghai became the trading centre for silk and tea products from Fujian, Guangzhou and northern Chinese cities. By the end of the Daoguang period 道光 (1821-1850), Shanghai was already the largest transshipment hub for goods in the whole of south China.

Considering the historical background of Shanghai, in 1840, the British invaded Macao with warships carrying 15,000 soldiers as a reaction against the Chinese law prohibiting trade with the British relating to opium. Thus began the First Opium War (1839~42), which ended with what nineteenth-century historians hypocritically called the “Opening of China to the West”. After signing the Treaty of Nanjing on August 29, 1842, China had to pay 21 million silver dollars in restitution and reimbursement for the 20,000 crates of opium destroyed and expenses incurred in the fighting. The treaty also opened the coastal towns of Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningpo and Shanghai to British trade and residence.⁴ Within a few years, other Western powers received commercial and residential privileges. Henceforth, one war after another

³ *Shanghai xianzhi* 上海縣志, chapter 1, 1784, cited in Zheng Zuan 鄭祖安, *Jindai Shanghai dushi de xingcheng* 近代上海都市的形成, p. 172

⁴ Details of the Opium Wars and the Nanjing Treaty are discussed in Jonathan D. Spence's *The Search for Modern China*, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990, pp. 143~164; Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800-1842*, Cambridge, 1951; Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, 'The Opium War', in *The Rise of Modern China*, p. 220~248.

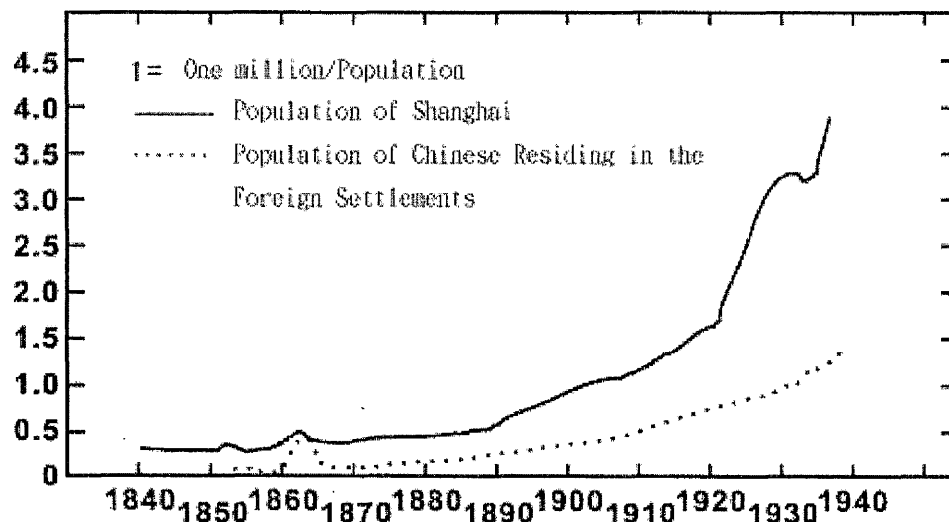
concluded with China making more concessions and reparations to the British, all of which resulted in the country's progressive ruin. After the freedom of preaching was permitted in 1846 according to the Treaty of Huangpu 黃浦條約 (1844) signed between Chinese and French governments, ever-greater numbers of foreigners made their profitable forays into China, and in the wake of soldiers came the consuls and merchants, missionaries and scholars, tourists and photographers. In a few years' time, foreign businesses became successfully established along Yangjingbang and the north bank of the Wusong River. In 1853, the British established the first bank in Shanghai and this was rapidly followed by many others, which brought in cash and controlled the city's economy.⁵ The treaties and the opening of the ports cumulatively had significant ramifications for China's ideas of commerce and society. The rapid foreign economic influence and new concepts of Urbanism and Capitalism also shaped Shanghai and brought about the biggest challenge to tradition in many respects.

While foreign money was coming into China through Shanghai, the Small Sword Uprising (occupying the walled Chinese city during September 1853~February 1855) and the Taiping rebellion (1851-1863) also drew refugees and the wealth of Nanjing and Jiangnan region to the city's foreign settlements, which was under Western protection, at a time when the rest of Zhejiang Province was in turmoil.⁶ In 1860, the population in the British and

⁵ Details of the foreign communities and their activities in Shanghai, see R. Wagner, "The Role of Foreign Community in the Chinese Public Sphere", *China Quarterly*, no. 142, June 1995, pp. 423~443.

⁶ Kui Shixun, *Shanghai gonggong zujie shigao* 上海公共租界史稿 (A draft history of the Shanghai International Settlement), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1980, p. 347; Guo Yunming, *Shanghai xiaodaohui shi* 上海小刀會史 (A history of Shanghai's Small Sword rebellion), Shanghai: Zhongguo dabaike quanshu chubanshe, 1993, p. 249. As described in S. Couling's *History of Shanghai* (Shanghai: Shanghai Municipal Council, 1923), in 1860, "In the

American districts increased from twenty thousand to thirty thousand, and by the end of 1862, it was reported that a population of half a million was living in these foreign districts.⁷ By the end of the Taiping rebellion, over 110,000 Chinese had moved to Shanghai's foreign settlements.⁸



From the chart provided above, we see a sudden growth of Chinese population in the foreign settlement in 1860-62. Most migrants were Chinese from vicinity of Shanghai. Besides the rich landlords and businessmen brought a great amount of wealth and goods into Shanghai which helped the

Settlement itself life could not have been pleasant. Crowds of refugees had come in from Soochow (Suzhou), driving up the rents and making things generally uncomfortable; the poorer swarmed all over the place -- at a later date indeed we read of them camping out along the Bund; while the wealthy brought their treasures with them and thus made the place still more of a temptation to the rebel arms" (p. 118) and "Meanwhile dangers were thickening around the threatened city. Raiders, especially on the Pootung (Pudong) side, were driving more and more refugees into Shanghai, no doubt with the idea of making disorder there or of starving the place out. Prices had already gone up two or three hundred per cent, and the Settlement was full of idle and homeless vagabonds" (p. 126-127). Even though the refugees had made the Settlement unpleasant in the early 1860s, for the time being, the wealth that was drawn into Shanghai indeed helped the growth of the economy, as well as brining talented people to migrate to Shanghai and to earn a living there.

⁷ Source for the chart see Rhoads Murphey, *Shanghai: Key to Modern China*, Cambridge, 1953; H. Lang, *Shanghai, Considered Socially*, Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1875, p. 27; Kui Shixun, *Shanghai gonggong zujie shigao*, p. 359.

⁸ Zou Yiren, *Jiu Shanghai renkou bianqian de yanjiu* 舊上海人口變遷研究 (Research on population change in old Shanghai), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1980, p. 3-4,

rise of the city's economy and consumption culture, there were various classes of people flooding into Shanghai seeking safety and a living and this influx of population greatly stimulated the city's production. In order to secure commercial success and social status, migrants also formed associations and guilds according to their place of origin or their occupation. Sometimes the native-place association and common-trade association overlapped, since merchants coming from the same native town tended to launch into the same trade or do business together. For instance, Fujian merchants were engaged with sugar, lacquer and wood business through the sea route, and Cantonese merchants were in control of the exported goods, fabrics, opium and tobacco.⁹ Such regional and occupational units not only divided the city's immigrant population into many communities, with the construction of guildhalls and gardens, and the establishment of group boundaries marked by dialects, cuisines and customary religions, they also reconstructed the city landscape and cultural ambience of Shanghai.

As described by Wang Tao 王韜 (1828~1897) "while Jiangsu, Zhejiang and the southeast part of China are chaotic, Shanghai is richer than ever before. 江浙東南半壁無一片乾淨土，而滬上繁華遠逾昔日".¹⁰

It is also said in *Shen Bao* 申報,

In the past, the private banks were mostly gathered in the Suzhou area, there were only a few branches in

90-91.

⁹ See Xu Dingxin, "Jiu Shanghai gongshang huiguan, gongsuo, tongye gonghui de lishi kaocha 舊上海工商會館、公所、同業公會的歷史考察", *Shanghai yanjiu luncong*, vol. 5, Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1990, pp. 79~113.

¹⁰ Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi* 瀛壖雜誌, p. 19

Shanghai...after the conquest of the Taiping rebels,
business in Shanghai became more and more active.
There were twenty-four private banks established in the
city, the sum of investment and saving was as great as two
to three million *liang*.¹¹

昔年票號皆薈萃蘇垣，分號於滬者只有數家...迨東南底
定，上海商埠日盛，票號聚集於斯者二十四家，其放銀
於錢莊，多至二三百萬兩。

Besides the historical influences on the growth of Shanghai, the
advantageous natural location of the port also provided easy access to silk, rice
and tea. Shanghai took over the leading position formerly held by Suzhou,
Hangzhou and Guangzhou, emerging as the largest cosmopolitan city in China
only two decades after the Opium War. At the same time, its prosperous
economy, the high consumption power of the urban population and a relatively
stable environment during a period of domestic rebellions and foreign wars
provided favourable conditions for cultural development.

In the preface of *Haishang molin*, Gao Yong 高邕 (1850~1921) wrote:

The artists living on the two sides of the Yangzi River are
numerous. It is difficult to know those lofty ones [who
live] in seclusion, yet for the others who pursue fashion
and love to travel around, visiting Shanghai is inevitable.¹²

大江南北書畫士無量數，其居鄉而高隱者不可知，其蠶

¹¹ *Shen Bao*, 1884, 1, 12

¹² *Ibid.* Yang Yi, p. 1.

筆而遊、聞風而趨者必於上海。

Gao Yong's account revealed a change of life-style inspired by the social change and the growing economy in Shanghai — instead of leading a hermit's life, or one at any rate in retirement or voluntary withdrawal from official life, here there seems to be a third choice for the artists.

Zhang Mingke 張鳴珂 (1828~1908) also mentions in *Hansongge tanyi suolu* 寒松閣談藝瑣錄 (A collection of miscellaneous jottings on fine arts):

Since the lifting of the ban on maritime trade in Shanghai, no other city could rival Shanghai in terms of vigorous trade. People who earn their living by means of calligraphy and painting sooner or later came here, selling their work and residing in the city. (Hu) Gongshou and (Ren) Bonian are the best among all professional painters.¹³

自海禁一開，貿易之盛，無過上海一隅。而以硯田爲生者，亦皆于于而來，僑居賣畫。公壽、伯年最爲傑出。

Artists who moved from other places to live in Shanghai outnumbered the natives. No fewer than 100 artists from other provinces who made their names in Shanghai are recorded in Huang Xiexun's account. Those sojourners include Zhang Xiong 張熊 (1803~1886), Zhu Xiong 朱熊 (1801~1864), Wang Li 王禮 (1813~1879), Tao Qi 陶淇 (1814~1865) Hu Yuan 胡遠 (1823~1886), Zhou Xian 周閑 (1820~1875), Ren Xiong 任熊

¹³ Zhang Mingke, *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, Preface dated 1908; Shanghai, 1923, chapter 6, p.150

(1823~1857), Xugu 虛谷 (1823~1896), Zhu Cheng 朱僞 (1826~1900), Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙 (1829~1884), Pu Hua 蒲華 (1832~1911), Sha Fu 沙馥 (1831~1906), Qian Huian 錢慧安 (1833~1911), Wu Dacheng 吳大澂 (1835~1902), Gu Yun 顧澐 (1835~1896), Fei Yigeng 費以耕 (19c.), Ren Xun 任薰 (1834~1893), Yang Borun 楊伯潤 (1837~1911), Hu Xigui 胡錫珪 (1839~1883), Wu Jiayou 吳嘉猷 (1840~1893), Wu Tao 吳滔 (1840~c. 1897), Ren Bonian 任伯年, Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 (1844~1927), Wu Guxiang 吳穀祥 (1848~1903), Wu Qingyun 吳慶雲 (d. 1916), Gao Yong 高邕, Lu Hui 陸恢 (1851~1920), Ni Tian 倪田 (1855~1919) and Cheng Zhang 程璋 (1869~1938). Li Tingjing 李廷敬, Li Yujia 李筠嘉, Jiang Baoling 蔣寶齡, Yao Xie 姚燮 and Zhu Jintang 朱錦堂 were famed for their connoisseurship and engagement with art societies. These aforementioned artists were later regarded as the painters of “Shanghai School”.¹⁴

Very much like the texture of the society in Shanghai, the membership of Shanghai School also revealed regional and class differences.

Coming from different regions, artists in Shanghai had inhabited different artistic traditions. For long, Suzhou and Zhejiang districts had strong links to the literati tradition. Works of the natives of Suzhou and Zhejiang districts often reflect the influences of Four Masters of Yuan, the Wu School, the Four Wangs 四王, Wu Li 吳歷 (1632~1718) and Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633~1690). Besides, many official and gentry residing in Shanghai continued to favour the literati tradition, which created a big market for the orthodox style. Famous orthodox painters in Shanghai included Tao Qi 陶淇, Wu Dacheng 吳大澂, Hu Gongshou 胡公壽, Gu Yun 顧澐, Wu Guxiang 吳穀

¹⁴ On membership, definition and origin of “Shanghai School” see Source A, Bibliography.

祥, Yang Borun 楊伯潤 and Lu Hui 陸恢. They excelled in landscape and bird and flower paintings. Although painters like Wu Dacheng and Hu Gongshou had developed varied styles in brushwork in their later years, most orthodox painters followed ancient methods, imitating paintings by their predecessors rather than depicting scenes from nature or city life.

Co-existing with the orthodox style, the legacy of the Eight Eccentrics in Yangzhou was carried into nineteenth-century Shanghai by individual artists. Ren Xiong 任熊, Ren Xun 任薰, Xugu 虛谷, Ren Bonian 任伯年, Ni Tian 倪田, Qian Huian 錢慧安, Wu Jiayou 吳嘉猷 and Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 shared a similar interest in the style of previous masters in Yangzhou. Besides imitating the old styles, these painters also moved away from tradition in an attempt to cope with the culture of a new metropolis. Auspicious themes and popular stories were commonly painted by those artists in Shanghai. Their work also intended to present an articulate brush-mode and a cheerful tonality so as to meet the demands of middle-class patrons.

On the technical side, some new painting methods were indebted to seal carving or to western influence. Interests in *kaoju* scholarship 考據學 (evidential research) and *jinshixue* 金石學, the study of inscriptions on ancient bronzes and steles, were also widely shared among artists in the Shanghai School. Zhao Zhiqian and Wu Changshuo were both excellent in seal-carving, calligraphy and painting. They preferred the rustic robustness of the engraved stele of the Qin and Han to the perfected elegance of classical tradition, and applied the technique of knife-carving to create similar effects in painting, recognised as *jinshi* 金石 style. Besides the trend of these antiquarian studies, Wu Jiayou (normally known as Wu Youru) and Ren Bonian in particular were

skilful in incorporating the traditional method of fine-line drawing with Western perspective and anatomy in figure paintings.

With a great diversity marked by their artistic training and new interests within the Shanghai School, painters often commemorated their origins in their signatures or seals; some painters, such as Fei Yigeng, Ren Bonian and Ni Tian stated specifically in their inscriptions that the works were done in their “guest-stay 客次/客寓 ” in Shanghai. There was a strong sense of displacement.

Artistically, they had to face both the Classical past and the present; geographically, their work is filled with thoughts of exile and memory, a severe reality that shifted them to a modern, metropolis city with a strong foreign presence.

B. Living in a Metropolis City

Being one of the first cosmopolitan cities of China, Shanghai faced the conflicts between the different traditions, customs and perspectives of east and west. The city was also the first to adopt the use of modern inventions, such as the newspaper (1850), railway (1876) and a piped water supply (1883).¹⁵ The modern publishing houses and newspapers helped the growth of artists' fame and the art market.

¹⁵ *Shanghai xinbao* was founded as a weekly in Shanghai in 1850 by Henry Shearman. According to Xiang Hua's 向華 *Shanghai shihua* 上海史話 (Hong Kong: Muwen Publisher, 1971, p.22), the first railway - Songhu Railway 淞滬鐵路 was built by Yihe Company 怡和洋行 and 27 other British and American companies in 1876. The information of the modern water supply operated by British Shanghai Tub Water Company since 1883.6.29 is also given in *Shanghai shihua* (p.107).

The English newspaper *The North-China Herald* was founded as a weekly in Shanghai in 1850 by Henry Shearman, its Chinese editions *Shanghai xinbao* 上海新報 issued thrice weekly at two foreign dollars a year during 1864~1872 and *Hu Bao* 滬報, a daily at \$2.80 annual subscription, begun in 1882 by Frederick Henry Balfour. *Shen Bao* 申報, founded in 1872 by Ernest Major, took the lead in the Shanghai press.¹⁶ Members of the *Shen Bao* staff, including Qian Xinbo 錢昕伯 and Huang Xiexun 黃協燾 published several new monthly reviews *Yinghuan suoji* 瀛寰瑣記, *Yingyu suozhi* 瀛宇瑣記, *Siming suoji* 四溟瑣記 and the monthly illustrated news *Yinghuan huabao* 瀛寰畫報 during 1872~1877 with help from Wang Tao 王韜. Ernest Major also owned the Dianshi Studio which published the pictorial review *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 from 1884~1894.¹⁷ It was issued at intervals of ten days, each issue was generally consisted of eight leaves. Although containing some fiction and light belles-lettres, it was primarily pictorial. Some of the drawings are of a high grade, done by artists of considerable reputation, such as Wu Jiayou, Zhang Zhiying 張志瀛 and Tian Zilin 田子林. *Dianshizhai huabao* is a bit like the pictorial supplement to the *Illustrated London News*, and it sometimes required pictures from the London journal.¹⁸ Other pictorials, for instance *Cilin huabao* 詞林畫報 (1888), were based more or less on the style of *Dianshizhai huabao*.

¹⁶ See Ge Yuanxu, 'Shen Bao guan 申報館', *Huyou zaji* 滬游雜記, 1876, *juan* 1, p. 20.

¹⁷ Roswells Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800~1912*, Shanghai, 1933, p. 48~75; Wagner, Rudolf G, "The Role of the Foreign Community in the Chinese Public Sphere", *The China Quarterly*, vol. 142, June 1995, p. 423~443.

¹⁸ Rudolf G. Wagner gave a good example on a portrait of Zeng Jize which was first published in *London Illustrated News* on 1884.1.5, and then copied by Wu Youru for the *Dianshizhai huabao*, published on No. 20, 1884.5.27. See Wagner, "Jinru quanqiu xiangxiang tujing: Shanghai de 'Dianshizhai huabao' 進入全球想像圖景：上海的《點石齋畫報》" (Join the Global Imaginaire: The Shanghai Illustrated Newspaper Dianshizhai huabao), *Zhongguo xueshu* 中國學術, ed. Liu Dong 劉東, no. 8, April 2001, pp. 63~68.

Newspapers, *Shen Bao* in particular, provided chances for artists to advertise their art. For example, on the 4th of the 9th month of 1879, the following advertisement appeared in *Shen Bao*:

***Liexian jiupai* (Immortals Wine Cards) For Sale**

The figures in *Liexian jiupai* were wonderfully drawn by Ren Weichang (1823~1857). They are now available at Songyun ge in the city, Qianqing tang and Baomo zhai on Erma lu outside the [Chinese walled] city, each set [selling] for \$1 English currency.

"列仙酒牌"出售

"列仙酒牌"係任渭長所繪人物精妙絕倫每部英洋一元
現在城內松筠閣城外二馬路千頃堂寶墨齋發兌特曰

On the front page of *Shen Bao* on 1880. 12.17 appeared a noticeable advertisement for Ren Bonian's *Shanshui zongtu* 山水總神圖 (Four Gods of the Land). This set consists of four lithographic images in hanging scroll format, available in both colour and ink monochrome, mounted and unmounted.¹⁹ Each picture presents a different God in the foreground, namely God of the City 城隍, God of the Earth 土地, God of Stove 灶神, and God of Money 財神; with a splendid landscape rendered in blue-and-green as background. The editor also stated that the subject was chosen specially for the upcoming New Year, with an expensive commission made payable to Mr. Ren Bonian. This advertisement suggests a close

¹⁹ In prove reading, Roderick Whitfield suggests that the choice of colour or ink monochrome must surely reflect the custom in England of "penny plain and tuppence coloured".

co-operation between the painter, the lithographic studio and press. It also shows that Ren Bonian was well-regarded, as his work was reproduced for the most important yearly festival, New Year. The choice of the subject-matter also reflects a trend of catering for the popular culture and general public, since the set was sold with affordable prices, five *jiao* (ink monochrome) and one *yuan* (coloured). The advertisement for this particular set was still seen on *Shen Bao* in 1884, which might indicate its continued popularity and the demand of the market.

Dianshi Studio also printed works by other contemporary painters for sale, for instance, Zhao Zhiqian's calligraphic work *Qin Zhi* 琴旨 (1879.6.19) and *Chen furen jiazuan* 陳夫人家傳 (1879.11.11), Ren Xun's painting *Lidai mingjiangtu* 歷代名將圖 (1887.7.27) and Ren Bonian's *Qilutu* 騎驢圖 (1879.11.26). These reproductions of their work in widely-read newspapers helped to spread the fame of artists.

In addition to the special political and economic background and the lively modern press in Shanghai, the opening of art shops selling antiques, seals, pigments, paintings and calligraphy benefited the artists who sought their livelihood through the sale of painting in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Manyun ge 漫雲閣, established in 1829, was the first calligraphy and painting shop in Shanghai. During the Tongzhi period (1862~1874), shops selling stationery and fans became very popular and several new establishments were opened: Guxiang shi 古香室 on Erma Road, Jinrun tang 錦潤堂 on Baoshen Street, Qinglian ge 青蓮閣 and Deyue lou 得月樓 in

the Yu Garden. During the Guangxu period (1875~1908), there were Jiuhua tang 九華堂 which moved from Suzhou to Henan Road in south Shanghai, Liyun ge 麗雲閣 in Yu Garden, Duoyun xuan 朵雲軒 on Henan Road and so on.²⁰ According to Ge Yuanxu's account, apart from Deyue lou, Qinglian ge, Liyun ge, Feyun ge 飛雲閣 and Laotongchun 老同椿, most of the famous fan shops were already located in the busy streets of the foreign settlements during the 1870s'.²¹ These shops not only supplied papers, paintings, pigments and other stationery items, but also provided a mounting service, lodgings for visiting artists and allowed them to sell their work. The emergence of these art shops had changed the traditional way of selling paintings so that paintings were no longer only available for the rich or officials by private commission or through agents, they were displayed for public sale. It marked the opening of an art market promoting the selling of works of art to everyone who could afford them.

Besides, the founding of art societies was another important factor behind the growing artistic development.

According to the modern scholar Huang Ke's research, there were eleven art societies in the city at that time.²² The first group is Pingyuan shanfang shuhua jihui 平遠山房書畫集會 active in the Qianlong and Jiaqing periods, led by Li Weizhuang 李味庄 (Li Tingjing 李廷敬).²³ Next was Wuyuan

²⁰ Shan Guolin gave a detailed account on the locations of contemporary fanshops and agents, see his 'The Cultural Significance of the Shanghai School', in *Chinese Paintings from the Shanghai Museum, 1851~1911*, Edinburgh: National Museum of Scotland Publishing, 2000, pp. 10~11.

²¹ Ge Yuanxu, 'Jianshan 牋扇' (Stationery and Fans), *Huyou zaji*, juan 2, pp. 1.

²² Huang Ke 黃可, "Qingmo Shanghai jinshi shuhuajia de jieshe huodong 清末上海書畫家的結社活動", *Duoyun*, no.12, 1987, p.147

²³ This group is only known through a brief account by Gao Yong, in the preface for *Haishang molin*, edited by Yang Yi in 1919, reprinted in Shanghai 1989.

shuhua jihui 吾園書畫集會 which was active for more than ten years from 1803, organised by Li Yunjia 李筠嘉. By Li's own account, 133 artists had joined the gatherings in Wu Yuan and 251 items of paintings, poems and inscriptions had been contributed. The members included Gai Qi 改琦 (1773~1828), Qu Yingshao 瞿應紹 (1778 or 1780~1849) and Qian Du 錢杜 (1764~1844?).²⁴ In 1839, Jiang Baoling 蔣寶齡 (1781~1841), the author of *Molin jinhua* 墨林今話 also founded the artistic group Xiaopenglai ge yaji 小蓬萊閣雅集.²⁵ In 1851, the Pinghua she 萍花社 was established in the Temple of Lord Guan 關帝廟 in the west part of the city by Wu Zonglin 吳宗麟. Some members later formed the group Huazhong jiuyou 畫中九友 (Nine Friends in Painting).²⁶

Feidan ge 飛丹閣, a group active in about 1865~1905, was based in the east of West Garden (Xi yuan 西園). The function of *Feidan ge* was very different from the art societies mentioned above, since it not only offered a chance for artists to meet, but also ran a hotel and shop. The major members include Ren Bonian, Wang Li, Wu Qingyun, Hu Gongshou, Wu Tao, Wu Guxiang, Ren Xun, Ren Yu 任預 (1854~1901), Zhang Xiong, Pu Hua 蒲華, Wu Changshuo, Zhu Cheng and Wu Youru. Professional painters were able to work and share experiences and opportunities there. They also negotiated the price of their art works and displayed paintings for sale in Feidan ge and other shops.²⁷ The interaction between artists and the facilities offered by this society helped the development of the Shanghai School.

After 1880, the founding of art societies increased rapidly, such as Tijin guan jinshi shuhuahui 題襟館金石書畫會 (1896?~1926), Wenming shuhua

²⁴ Cited by Huang Ke, *ibid*, p. 141

²⁵ See Xu Ke 徐珂, *Qingbai leichao* 清稗類鈔, Vol.1, p.54, Shanghai, 1928

²⁶ See Yang Yi, *Haishang molin*, Shanghai, 1989, chapter 3, p.7 (first published in 1919)

²⁷ Shan Guolin, 'The Cultural Significance of the Shanghai School', in *Chinese Paintings from the Shanghai Museum, 1851~1911*, pp. 11.

yaji 文明書畫雅集 (active in 1880's~c.1900), Yuyuan shuhua shanhui 豫園書畫善會 (1909~1940's), Wuanmi shanfang shuhua hui 宛米山房書畫會 (1909~1940's), Shanghai shuhua yanjiu hui 上海書畫研究會 (1910~?) and Qingyiguan shuhua hui 青漪館書畫會 (1911~?). Compared with other cities in late Qing China, the art societies in Shanghai outnumbered those in Suzhou and Hangzhou.²⁸ The growth of the fan shops and art associations marked the vigorous art activity and high density of artists in Shanghai in the late Qing dynasty. Friendships, cultural ties and commercial interests were obviously intertwined within the gatherings in these places. Thus the flourishing economy, stable environment, newspaper and open art market in the modern city attracted professional artists and consumers.

Arrangement of Chapters

While the study of Chinese art before the nineteenth century has been driven by stylistic analysis, by cultural consideration and by their contexts in contemporary society and in literature, relatively little research has been done on the art or individual artists of late imperial China. There remains a need for assembling the facts and background sources. In this thesis, we shall attempt to present a solid background for the further understanding of Ren Bonian through a reliable biography and an overview of his circle in his active years.

²⁸ According to Huang Ke's account, there were Yiyuan shuhuashe 怡園書畫社 and Xiumeige shuhuashe 修梅閣書畫社 in Suzhou; Silin yinshe 西泠印社 in Hangzhou; and some gatherings organised by Ye Daofen 葉道芬, Qin Yiting 秦誼亭 and Yu Chengde 俞承德 in Nanking for which the name of the art society is not yet available. Ibid, p.147

In the third chapter, we explore the sources of Ren Bonian's learning, the roots of and the inspirations for his artistic language. With their free, expressive, cheerful and inventive style and the popular subject matters in painting, the work of this artist seems to suit both the men of letters and the general public. By looking into his styles, we wish to understand how Ren Bonian created a contemporary flavour that is often considered to be what defines the Shanghai School. In the fourth chapter, our concern includes the popular literature, patronage, sexuality and other background inspiration for Ren Bonian's choice of subject matter and visual performance. In the fifth chapter, we first consider the association between his portraiture of his artistic friends and the role of painters in the city. The aspects of Ren Bonian's style inherited from Chen Hongshou, Ren Xiong, Ren Xun and popular book illustrations in his early days are portrayed. In the second half of the fifth chapter, we emphasise the innovations brought by foreign stimuli, such as the influence of Western painting technique, imported pigments and photography found in Ren Bonian's painting. The discussion is concerned with the aesthetic concepts of Ren Bonian and his circle in relation to both traditional and new artistic trends of Chinese painting examined from a social perspective. The sixth chapter focuses on the serious problem of the forgeries which began to appear in his late years. The last chapter concerns the significance of Ren Bonian and his figure painting in Chinese art history.

In addition to the main discussion on Ren Bonian's figure painting, a chronological list of Ren Bonian's 73 seals and a catalogue of Ren Bonian's figure paintings and translations of the painter's inscriptions on 465 existing paintings are provided as appendices. It is hoped that these charts and

catalogue will be helpful for understanding Ren Bonian's customary use of seals, and also useful tools for identifying the forgeries of Ren's painting.

Through the exploration of Ren Bonian's life and his figure paintings in depth, we hope the significance of Ren Bonian in the development of Chinese painting of the modern period will be illuminated.

Here should be
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Ren Bonian research.

II. THE LIFE OF REN BONIAN 1840~1895



II. THE LIFE OF REN BONIAN 1840~1895

Among so many painters in Shanghai in the second half of the nineteenth century, Ren Bonian earned a high reputation and popularity. However, there is a lack of reliable records and biographical documents for his life and career. This is partly because it has been typical for traditional Chinese history to use fabulous and mysterious stories or legends to suggest special, admirable characters of the subject. Even in works as reliable as Sima Qian's *Shi Ji* (Records of History), there are still many apocryphal anecdotes, such as Zhang Liang meeting an old man who was the yellow-stone-immortal. Traditional art historians also kept the habit of compiling both facts and whimsical materials. The problem with Ren Bonian's biographies is a case in point. Over the last two decades, two questions concerning Ren Bonian's life have been the subject of such scholarly debate: was Ren Bonian involved in the Taiping Army? Was he discovered by Ren Xiong in Shanghai when he was sixteen? We also do not know much about Ren Bonian's early education, his financial situation, family life or his late years.

The contemporary studies on Ren Bonian's biography are often based on a few records, namely Yang Yi's *Haishang molin* (1919), Ren Jinshu's "Remembering" written about a photograph of Ren Bonian at the age of forty-nine (published in 1928; Fig. 204)¹, his colophon on Ren Bonian's "Portrait of Ren Songyun 任淞雲畫像" (painted in 1868, Palace Museum,

¹ Published in *Meishujie* 美術界, nos. 3, 1928.8.23

Beijing), and Xu Beihong's "Ren Bonian pingzhuan" (1935). Although these accounts occasionally disagree with each other, these publications have provided a rough impression of Ren Bonian's background. Besides these publications, Ren Bonian's great-grandson Ren Changgai 任昌垓, who has been discovered recently still living in Shanghai, offers some reliable information about family members and stories of Ren Bonian. In order to form a thorough understanding of the artist, we have to re-assemble the related information from the poems, colophons and other scattered inscriptions by members of his circle and art historians.

A. Ren Bonian's Early Life (1840~1863)

Ren Yi 任頤, first named Run 潤, normally known as Ren Bonian 任伯年, was also self-styled as Xiaolou 小樓, Ciyuan 次遠, Ren gongzi 任公子, Ren qianqiu 任千秋, Ren heshang 任和尚, Shangyin daoren 山陰道人 and Shangyin daoshang xingzhe 山陰道上行者 on painting and seal. The painter was born in 1840 in the Ren Family Pavilion 任家樓, Hangwu Mountain 航塢山, Guali zhen 瓜瀝鎮 in Xiaoshan 蕭山 (now part of Hangzhou district, Zhejiang Province).² His ancestors were from Shanyin 山陰 (now Shaoxing county

² The signature of Ren Run 任潤 was seen before 1866, such as on the painting "Plum and Lady 梅花仕女" (1865, The Palace Museum, Peking) which bears the signature "Shanyin Ren Xiaolou Run 山陰任小樓潤", "Female figures after Chen Laolian 仿陳老蓮仕女" bears the artist's inscription "Shanyin Ren Run Xiaolou written in my guest-stay in Yong River in the *yichou* year 乙丑山陰任潤小樓寫於甬上" (1865, Duoyunxuan, Shanghai). In a colophon inscribed on "Female Figure after Chen Laolian", Ren Jinshu gave an explanation of Ren Bonian's names, he writes: "At the end of Xianfeng (1861) and the beginning of Tongzhi (1862), my late father returned from the rebel camp. He packed his luggage alone and moved three times, from Wuhui to Yong (Ningpo) and finally to Hu (Shanghai). During these years, he also changed his name and signature three times. Owing to Weichang's (Ren Xiong) influence, his painting style is in debt to Laolian (Chen Hongshou),

紹興縣, Zhejiang Province) and then moved to Xiaoshan 蕭山, so that Ren often regarded himself as “a native of Shanyin” (Shanyin Ren Yi 山陰任頤). He was the son of a local rice dealer — Ren Hesheng 任鶴聲, self-styled Songyun 淞雲, who was also a part-time portrait painter. There is no existing painting by Ren Hesheng, so we can hardly estimate his influence on Ren Bonian's art. According to Ren Jinshu 任董叔, the son of Ren Bonian,

My late grandfather was called Hesheng, also known as Songyun. He was an educated man but was not interested in politics. By having a shop on the street, he was able to support himself by doing business and to keep reading at the same time. He did paint, and was particularly good at portraits in a realistic manner *xiezhen* (often used in ancestor portraits). Since he was shy of displaying his talent, only a few people knew about his painting skill. Not until in his later years when there was a famine, did he begin to teach my father the technique of making portraits.³

which is evident in the signature and colophon on this painting drawn during his stay in Yong (Ningpo). Nowadays, quite a few rich families in Yong own my late father's paintings which bear a similar signature. Connoisseurs are suspicious about the authenticity whenever they see the signature of that type. They do not know that these paintings are my late father's fine early works. Chang a na shi Ren Jin viewing [the picture] with respect in Shanghai, winter of *yihai* (1935). 遜清咸同之交，先處世歸自賊中，襆被蕭然。由吳會而甬而至滬，凡三易厥居。此數稔中，縑素題屬亦三易其名。因從渭長翁游，故當時畫法一本老蓮，此幀蓋旅甬時作，由題署畫法而可證明者。今甬上豪家多有藏先處士遺翰者，並用此幀題署。古董家見之，往往聚訟甚囂，不知時先處士少作精品也。乙亥仲冬拜觀於滬壘寓寮長阿那室任董敬識。”

The information of Ren Bonian's birth place is according to “Ren Bonian shiliao zhuanji 任伯年史料專輯” (A Special Issue on Historical Record about Ren Bonian) compiled by Committee of Political Education and History of Xiaoshan 蕭山市政協學習和文史工作委員會, Hangzhou: Siling yinshe, 2000.12.

³ Colophon on the “Portrait of Ren Songyun 任淞雲先生像”, collected in Palace Museum,

先王父諱鶴聲，號淞雲。讀書不苟仕宦，設臨街肆，且讀且賣。善畫，尤善寫真術，恥以術炫，故鮮知者。垂老，值歲歉，乃以術授先處士。

Xu Beihong also describes,

Ren Bonian's father was good at painting. He moved from Shangyin to Xiaoshan and became a rice dealer. Bonian was born before the Rebellion of Hong and Yang (1839), and learned painting from his father in Xiaoshan when he was a boy.⁴

其父能畫像，從山陰遷蕭山，業米商。伯年生於洪楊革命以前(一八三九)，少隨其父居蕭山習畫。

These accounts show that Ren Bonian's father might have provided him with some foundational lessons in painting. He began when he was still young to learn portrait painting as a preparation for a future career. Apart from the above information, no other details about Ren's parents and his childhood education can be gleaned from the existing records.

Beijing.

3. Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻, "Ren Bonian Pingzhuan 任伯年評傳". Xu Beihong wrote that Ren Bonian was born in 1839. Several accounts, including Lin Shuzhong's 林樹中 "Ren Bonian ji qi zuopin 任伯年及其作品"(Ren Bonian and his work) and Cai Ruohong's 蔡若虹 preface for *Ren Bonian Huaji* 任伯年畫集 (The Collected Painting of Ren Bonian) agree with Xu Beihong. But according to the *Ming Qing huajia yinjian* 明清畫家印鑑 (A Study on Seals of Ming and Qing Painters) and the *Ren Bonian Nianpu* 任伯年年譜 (The Chronology of Ren Bonian) by Ding Xiyuan 丁義元, Ren's birth year should be 1840. Xu Beihong counted both dates of Ren Bonian's birth and death dates wrongly. He said Ren Bonian died in year *yiwei* of Guangxu 光緒乙未年 (1894) when he was 56. According to the calendar, the year *yiwei* should be 1895. So Xu calculated the years of both Ren's birth and death one year earlier by mistake. Ren Bonian was in fact born in 1840, died in 1895.

In 1860, the Taiping Army 太平軍 came to Zhejiang 浙江 for the first time and soon took over Hangzhou 杭州 in March under the leadership of Hong Xiucheng 洪秀成. In November 1861, Ren's hometown Shaoxing was controlled by the Taiping Army. It is said that Ren Bonian lost his father during the war. The colophon on the "Portrait of Mr. Ren Songyun 任淞雲先生像", written by Ren Bonian's son Ren Jinshu (1881~1936), gives the sad details:

Before the Red Army took over Zhejiang and Yuezhou, my late grandmother had already passed away. My grandfather made my father go away but he himself stayed home. When the Red Army arrived in the town, he tricked them by pretending to be a beggar, and like many others, was hoping to escape to Bao Village in Zhuji, because that village was led by Bao Lishen⁵ who believes in Wudoumi Dao and who had several times inflicted damages on the Red Army. My grandfather had a niece married to a local man in Bao Village, her husband was rich enough to be able to give my grandfather some help. But unfortunately, my grandfather was killed on his way

⁵ "Bao Lishen 包立身" is a misprint for "Bao Lisheng 包立生". According to the "Biography of Bao Lisheng" collected in *Jinzhong shanfan wenji* 金鐘山房文集 by Shi Xuchen 施旭臣, Bao Lisheng is "a native a Zhuji 諸暨, from a farmer family which has had lived in Bao Village for many generations.". He fought against the Taiping rebels for nine months in Bao Village and died in Mount. Mamian 馬面山 after a fall. See the "Biography of Bao Lisheng", *Anji Shishi yizhu* 安吉施氏遺著, p.39.

to see this person.⁶

赭軍陷浙，竄越州時，先王母已歿。乃迫先處士使趣行，已獨留守。既而赭軍至，乃詭丐者，服金釧__ __。先期逃免，求庇諸暨包村。村據形勢，包立身奉五斗米道，屢創赭軍，遐邇稟至。先王父有女甥嫁村民，頗任以財，故往依之，中途遇害卒。

Ren Jinshu went on to record how Ren Bonian went to find his father's dead body:

After the war, my father tried to find my grandfather's body, but could not. His niece's husband only recognised my grandfather's tobacco pipe, and told my father where he saw it. Father went, and found the tobacco pipe. The gold inlay [binding] with pattern of two entangled dragons (as the ornament on the pipe) was still shining. It was my late grandfather's very own.⁷

難平，先處士求其屍，不獲。女甥之夫只識其淡巴菰煙具爲志，志其處。道往，果得之。金釧宛然，作兩龍相糾紋，由先王父之手澤也。

The Taiping Rebellion not only destroyed his family, but according to Ren Jinshu's "Remembering", Ren Bonian was also forced to work for the Taiping Army for a while,

⁶ Colophon on "The Portrait of Mr. Ren Songyun 任淞雲先生像", Palace Museum, Beijing.

At the age of sixteen, my father was caught up in Hong and Yang rebellion (Taiping rebellion). A high officer assigned him to carry the battle standard. The standard was a silk banner 20 feet in height, made of several sections joined together, with a staff as thick as a boy's arm. In a heavy wind, it weighed a couple of hundred *jin*. In battle, he carried the standard and with it led the advance. When the troop halted, he planted the staff in the ground, checked the direction of the wind, and sat with his legs crossed, his back to the wind so that he prevented [it falling] with his own body.

The bullets from the enemy camp buzzed about noisily in the air. They either swept past his flag or skimmed by the pole and fell. When they hit the rocks, those bullets could still [ricochet and] kill someone. Once a bullet struck the forehead of a man seated next to my father, the blood spurted everywhere and he died on the spot. My father was lucky to be alive.

Whenever the army stopped for a break in the field, soldiers used stones as pillows and slept in the open until dawn. When they finally got some food to eat, they looked like a bunch of squatting owls, they just discarded any good manners.

⁷ Footnote 6, *ibid*.

He already had white hair when he was just over 30. He loved drinking and had a ill lung infection. Five years before his death, he stopped drinking as suggested by his doctor. However, during the autumn and winter, he still vomited through coughing so heavily, and the sweat started out on his forehead when he panted. The lung problem was brought on by camping in the frosty fields, when the winter wind was blowing hard and the sky was dark, during the period of his being caught up in the troops of the Red Army.

This picture was taken when he was about 49 years old. His solitary son Jin records this with respect.⁸

先處士少值儉歲。年十六，陷洪楊，大酋令掌軍旗。旗以縱表二丈之帛，連數端爲之，貫如兒臂之杆。傳以風力，數百斤物矣，戰時麾之以爲前驅。既綏植杆於地，度其風色何向，乃反風趺坐，引以自障。敵陣彈丸挾風嗤嗤，汰旗掠鬢，或緣杆墜，墜處觸石，猶能殺人。嘗一彈猝至，撼旁坐者額，血濡縷，立殪。先處士頤無恙。軍次或野次，草塊枕籍，露宿達晨，羸糧蓐食，則群聚如蹲鴟，此嶺表俗也。年才逾立，已種種有二毛。嗜酒病肺，捐館前五年，用醫者言止酒不復飲。而涉秋徂冬，猶咳噎噦逆，喘汗頹泚，則陷赭軍時道涂霜露，風噎所淫且賊也。此影蓋四十九歲所攝。孤子董敬識。

⁸ Published in *Meishujie* 美術界, nos. 3, 1928.8.23

Ren Jinshu's description is very vivid. However, there are some problems concerning the year in which Ren Bonian joined the Red Army (Taiping rebellion). The text says that "at the age of sixteen, he was caught up in the Hong and Yang rebellion", but in 1855 when Ren was sixteen, the Taiping Army had not yet invaded Zhejiang (it did so in 1861). Besides, Xu Beihong's "Biography of Ren Bonian" did not mention him being involved with the Red Army, Xu only wrote,

When his father died (Ren Bonian was around fifteen or sixteen years old), Ren moved to Shanghai soon afterwards.⁹

迨父卒(伯年約十五,六歲),即轉徙上海。

Considering the two different accounts, it is necessary to give clearer background information of the two sources:

1. Ren Jinshu's colophon about his father's photo was published in *Meishujia* 美術家 (1928. 8. 23)
2. Xu Beihong's "Biography of Ren Bonian" was written in the winter of 1950 in Beijing, and first published in *Ren Bonian huaji* 任伯年畫集 (One hundred pictures by Ren Bonian in Tan Tszechor's collection, edited by Chen Zongrui 陳宗瑞 in 1953. Later this essay was edited in Gong Chanxing's *Ren Bonian yanjiu* 任伯年研究 (Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, p. 1~3) in 1982 and *Xu Beihong yishu wenji* 徐悲鴻藝術文集, edited by Xu Boyang 徐伯陽 and Jin Shan 金山 in 1987 (Taipei: Yishujia,

⁹ Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻, "Ren Bonian pingzhuan 任伯年評傳", *Duo Yun*, no. 3, May 1982, p. 216

vol. 2, p. 601-607).

In Xu Beihong's essay, the author mentioned that he had a meeting with Ren Jinshu in the summer of 1928. Ren Jinshu had none of his father's works, except for a small clay sculpture of Ren Bonian's father. Ren Jinshu also gave Xu Beihong a photo of Ren Bonian, which Xu later used as a basis for an oil painting "Portrait of Ren Bonian".

During his meeting with Xu Beihong, did Ren Jinshu mention Ren Bonian's being caught up in the Red Army? It seems unlikely: if Ren did so, why did Xu Beihong leave out this important fact, and say only that Ren Bonian went to Shanghai when his father died?

Regarding the apparent contradiction in the two accounts of Ren Bonian's teenage history, Xu Beihong simply says that Bonian left home when he was about 16 after the father's death. Perhaps Xu felt that the army story was an exaggeration, so he left it out (a boy of 16 could not manage the heavy battle standard). If Ren was 21 or 22 then the story would be more believable since Ren would have been strong enough to carry the heavy standard with which he led the advance. And the dates would all fit together with the actual date when Taiping rebels occupied Zhejiang in 1861~62.

Besides, Lin Wenju 林文舉 and Ding Jianxing 丁健行 also cited some information from *Paoyi zazhi* 匏移雜誌,

Jinshu (1881~1936) was born after the Hong and Yang troubles. The financial situation of the family was very

bad when Jinshu was little. Bonian had to sell paintings to support the family, and educated Jinshu by himself. Jinshu was a very clever kid. Once he drew a picture of two armies fighting, Bonian blamed him severely. It is because Bonian had bitter experiences brought by wars that he could not stand any images of battles.¹⁰

堇叔生於洪楊亂後，家業蕩然，伯年以鬻畫贍家，課堇叔讀。聰穎異常兒。髫齡嘗畫兩軍對參圖，爲伯年斥責，蓋其父飽經刀兵喪亂之苦，不忍畫見黷武之事。

It provides corroboration for Ren Jinshu's record that Ren Bonian had been caught up in the Red Army for a while, so that he hated to see the battle scene which reminded him of the terrible days being in the army and his loss of family at that time. Since Ren Jinshu was only fifteen years old when Ren Bonian died, it is possible that Ren Jinshu might have been mistaken the about his father's age when the latter was caught up in the army of Hong and Yang in around 1861-62 when they invaded Zhejiang, when he was about 21 or 22 and strong enough to carry the standard, not at the age of 15 or 16.

The second question regarding Ren Bonian's early history is: did Ren Bonian really meet Ren Xiong 任熊 (1823~1857)?

In Xu Beihong's account, he believes the melodramatic story of the young artist being discovered by Ren Xiong in Shanghai in 1855. The story was told

¹⁰ This account was originally recorded in Paoyu zazhi 匏移雜誌, cited in Lin Wenju 林文舉 & Ding Jianxing 丁健行, *Molin yixiu* 墨林逸秀, Chapter 13, line 1325.

by Wang Yiting 王一亭 (also known as Wang Zhen 王震, 1867~1938), a former student of Ren Bonian:

By 1855, Bonian had gone to Shanghai and became an apprentice in a fan workshop. As his father had just died that year, the young man was pressed by the need to provide for his living. He made some unauthorized copies of Ren Xiong's (Ren Weichang, 1823-1857) paintings and sold them on the street.

One day, Ren Xiong went for a stroll down the bazaar which led out from the Chenghuang Temple and the Yu Garden. Quite by chance, he came upon a folding-fan signed with his own name, but he soon discovered that it was a clever forgery. Out of curiosity, Ren Xiong tried to discover his skilful imitator and his inquiries led him finally to the workshop where Ren Bonian was looking after a display of fans. The painter did not reveal his identity and merely ordered five pictures "by the famous artist Ren Weichang (Ren Xiong)". A few days later, when the fans were ready, Ren Xiong expressed his admiration for the speed with which these fans had been delivered, and asked Ren Bonian whether he knew the master personally.

"Of course!" was the ready answer, "He is my father's youngest brother."

"Well, here is your uncle standing in front of you,"
replied Ren Xiong with a broad smile.

Ren Xiong was not angry with the young forger and
had sympathy for Bonian's predicament. He offered his
help by sending Bonian to his brother Ren Fuchang
(1835-1893), a professional painter of some repute in
Suzhou.¹¹

This story was well known in Shanghai art circles. Several artists have
described this story, including Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 (1844~1927), Fan Ruo
方若, Chen Banding 陳半丁 (1876~1970) and Wang Yiting. But modern
scholars are suspicious about the possibility of Ren Bonian meeting Ren Xiong
任熊 (known as Ren Weichang 任渭長, 1823~1857) during the years
1855-1857. For there is no existing record to prove that Ren Bonian was in
Shanghai when he was fifteen to eighteen. Some scholars also wonder that if
it may have been Ren Xun 任薰 (Ren Fuchang 任阜長, the brother of Ren
Xiong, 1835~1893) who discovered Ren Bonian, not Ren Xiong.

Ren Bonian's early life is filled with apocryphal fabrications. Not only
are his childhood and adolescent years not well recorded, but also the facts
about his marriage and learning of painting before 1865 remain unknown.
However, after Ren Bonian lost his father, he obviously was responsible for the

¹¹ The translation is based on van der Meyden's rendering of Xu Beihong's "Ren Bonian pingzhuan", see his "The Life and Works of Ren Bonian (1840-1896)", *Oriental Art*, Vol. 38, No.1, Spring 1992, pp.27-40.

family and began to paint seriously in larger towns and cities in Zhejiang.

B. Travels in Jiangnan (1864~1868)

According to Ren Jinshu's colophon on a painting "Portrait of a Lady" by Ren Bonian (undated, collected in Duoyun Xuan 朵雲軒), it says,

During the end of Xianfeng (1861) and the beginning of Tongzhi (1862), my late father returned from the rebel camp. He packed his luggage alone and moved three times, from Wuhui to Yong (Ningpo) and finally to Hu (Shanghai).

遜清咸同之交，先處世歸自賊中，襆被蕭然。由吳會而甬而至滬，凡三易厥居。

A record survives to show that Ren Bonian was still staying in his hometown Xiaoshan 蕭山 in the summer of 1863. Ren Jinqian 任晉謙¹², a native of Xiaoshan who taught Ren Bonian the skill of seal carving, wrote "Ren Run 任潤" (Seal Index No. 73) on a seal at Ren Bonian's request:

Some while ago, I wrote an inscription on a stone for you

¹²Ren Jinqian 任晉謙, self-styled name Mufu 牧父, was a native of Xiaoshan. Ren Bonian once learnt seal carving from him. According to the inscription on the seal "Yi An 頤庵" Ren carved for his friend (collected in Shanghai Museum), Ren mentioned that in the past when he saw Mufu carving the seals, he could not understand the way he arranged the characters. After Mufu died, he also stopped making seals for a long time. Until one day, Mr. Jin (Jin Yian) asked Ren Bonian to make a seal. Ren got out of his tools and made a seal in the antique style. He then realized that he himself after so many years was finally

to carve, the work was well done. Now you ask me to carve a seal for you before moving to Shen (Shanghai), because you say the seal you yourself made is already worn out... (A seal) made for my junior brother Xiaolou in the sixth month of the year *guihai* (1863), your senior brother Mufu Jinqian.¹³

曩余與弟書一石，弟自刻之，甚佳。今將赴申，出此索筆，且爲自製一石已磨壞矣...癸亥六月爲小樓弟作，牧父兄晉謙。

This inscription which must have been written in Xiaoshan, says that Ren Bonian was about to leave for Shanghai. It is not possible to find any record to check whether Ren arrived at Shanghai in 1863. However, during the years 1864 to early 1868, apart from a short stay with Fan Qiaoling 方樵齡 and Yao Xiaofu 姚小復 in Zhenhai 鎮海, Ren Bonian basically earned his living by selling paintings in Yongshang 甬上, now Ningpo 寧波. As one of the five treaty ports opened for international trade after the Opium War, Ningpo was crowded with businesses and vigorous markets. A lot of artists came here to sell their works. For example Ren Xiong was once resident here under the patronage of Yao Xie. Ren Bonian's colophon on his painting, "Parting at Dongjin" 東津話別圖 of 1868 (Fig. 235) vividly presents his life and friendships with scholars:

I have been in Yongshang (Ningpo) for four years. I

able to understand what Mufu had taught him.

¹³ *Dingchiu jieyu yincun* 丁丑劫餘印存, Shanghai, 1984, vol.2, chap. 17.

felt a great affinity to master monk Jieting and Mr. Xu Duofeng when I met them for the first time. Since then, we have been playing music, reciting poems and exploring the beautiful sceneries together. When it was late, we lit the fire; when it rained, we put on the rain-cape. Nothing can really stop us from doing things or enjoying ourselves together. These friendships, in addition to the beauty of Nature, have enriched my life here.

But I will have to move to a bigger city to develop my artistic career with my uncle — Fuchang (Ren Xun). Lianshi (Xie Fulian) is leaving for the North with us as well. The date for departure is drawing near. Duofeng asked me to draw a picture in remembrance of our memories; as in the ancient time, Jiang Yan presented his sorrow in his “Bie Fu” (Prose-poem of Parting) when leaving, and Wang Can displayed his thoughts of the last in the verse “Deng Lou” (Ascending the Tower).

This is the tenth day after the flower festival, in the second month of the seventh year of Tongzhi (1868.3.18). The recluse Ren Yi Ciyuan of Shanyin recorded this on this painting ready to be mounted at this place on Gan Stream.¹⁴

¹⁴ Colophon of the “*Parting at Dongjin* 東津話別圖”, 1868, by Ren Bonian, now collected in China Art Gallery 中國美術館. The scene described was the Laojiang Bridge 老江橋, now Ling Bridge 凌橋 at the East Gate 東門 in Ningpo 寧波. The five figures drawn in

客遊甬上已閱四年，方丈个亭，徐朵峰諸君子，一見均如舊識，宵篝燈，雨戴笠，琴歌酒賦，探勝尋幽，相賞無虛日。江山之助，友聲之樂，斯游洵不負矣。茲將隨叔阜長橐筆游金閶，廉始亦計偕北上。行有日矣，朵峰抱江淹賦別之悲，觸王粲登樓之思，爰寫此圖，以志星萍之感。同治七年二月花朝後十日，山陰任頤次遠甫倚裝畫並記於甘溪寓次。

In the "Parting at Dongjin", the colophons written by the painter and his friends give an important account of Ren's social life during that time. It also shows Ren Bonian's relationship with Ren Xun had already become quite close for Ren Bonian called Ren Xun "uncle 叔".

During his four-year stay in Ningpo, Ren Bonian must have learned painting from Ren Xun and been introduced to local scholars and art collectors. He might have made acquaintance with the Yao family through Ren Xun's introduction, since Ren Bonian's "Parting by the River Xiaojia 小浹江話別圖" (Fig. 1, 1866) was drawn in Yao Xie 姚燮 (1805~1864) and Yao Xiaofu's Dameishang Guan 大梅山館.¹⁵ The young artist must have had chances to see lots of works by Ren Xiong while visiting Yao Xie, Ren Xiong's old patron and an art collector, and the two senior Rens also had an impact on the technique and styles of Ren Bonian's early painting.

Ren Bonian was also indebted to his predecessor Fei Danxu 費丹旭

this picture are Chen Duofeng 陳朵鋒 (Chengrui 政銳 from Yin County 鄞縣), Xie Lianshi 謝廉始 (Fulian 輔濂 from Zhenhai 鎮海), Wan Geting 萬个亭 (Hocheng 後丞 from Yin County 鄞縣), Ren Xun 任薰 (Fuchang 阜長 from Xiaoshan 蕭山) and Ren Bonian.

¹⁵ Ren wrote " Junior brother Ren Yi writing in the Qinyong lou, Dameishan Guan."

(1802~1850, also known as Fei Xiaolou 費曉樓). Ren named himself “Xiaolou 小樓”, which is pronounced the same as Fei’s known name with a different first character. This name was obviously made to pay respect to Fei Danxu in the 1860s’, although it is suspected that it may also have been intended to confuse the non-expert buyers at a time when Fei’s name was already well known and Ren was relatively unheard-of. We can see this signature in existing paintings such as “Bamboo and Lady 芭蕉仕女” (1865, Shanghai Art & Craft Trading Company), “Figures after Ren Hongshou 仿老蓮人物仕女圖”(1865, Duoyunxuan) and “Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠” (1867, Suzhou Museum). Not until Fei Danxu’s son made an objection to Ren did he stop signing this particular name on his work. In Ren’s early female figures, we often see ladies drawn with slim shoulders, fragile appearance, expression-less and even somewhat absent-minded-look on faces, small mouth and eyes, tidy hairdos, elaborate garment design and elegant postures. These refinements of detail and similar treatment in composition show Ren’s affinity to Fei Danxu’s painting of women. Ren’s “Lady Among the Almond Blossoms 玉樓人醉杏花天” (Fig. 2, 1865) was drawn after the style of Fei Danxu (Fig. 3), in which the lines are fine, subtle and delicate, the female figure is elegant, idealized, the ornaments are intricately portrayed, and the whole picture is painted in detail. This portrait shows not only the influence of Fei Danxu on Ren’s early style, but also Fei’s popularity in mid-nineteenth-century Ningpo.

In the spring of 1868, Ren Bonian arrived in Suzhou 蘇州. Suzhou had long been a cultural centre, where poets, scholars and recluses had built a strong literary tradition. In such a literary atmosphere, Ren Bonian had some

advantages to participate in cultural activities. Through Ren Xun's introduction, Ren Bonian made acquaintance with Sha Fu 沙馥 (known as Sha Shanchun 沙山春, 1831~1906), Hu Yuan 胡遠 (known as Hu Gongshou 胡公壽, 1823~1886) and other such famous painters there. As Hu Gongshou was the senior and most famous artist in Suzhou and Shanghai at that time, the meeting between Ren Bonian and Hu Gongshou was particularly important and influential for Ren's future career. Hu Gongshou showed his trust in Ren Bonian by doing paintings in co-operation with him. He also commissioned some portraits to help the young artist. Through Hu Gongshou's generous help, Ren Bonian quickly became well known and was able to see many of the art collections of Hu Gongshou's friends. Ren Bonian showed his gratitude to Hu Gongshou whose studio was called "Shelter of a Crane", by naming his place "Hall of Leaning on the Crane". Their close relationship is clearly revealed from such a literary choice of names.¹⁶

During this period, Ren Bonian concentrated on portraiture and drew several pictures of his artist-friends. For example, "Portrait of Sha Fu at the Age of Thirty-Nine 沙馥三十九歲小像" (1868, Nanjing Museum), "Portrait of Ren Xun 任薰像" (1868, China Art Gallery), "Recluse Hengyun Begging 橫雲山民行乞圖" (1868, Central Art Academy, Beijing), "Portrait of Mrs. Hu Gongshou 胡公壽夫人像" (1868) and "Portrait of Chen Yunsheng 陳允升

¹⁶ Zhang Yuguang 張聿光 says: "Ren Bonian was not good at landscape painting at first, and was indebted to Hu Gongshou's teaching on this subject. Hu Gongshou completed the background of Ren's 'Portrait of Luosheng' and 'Portrait of Mr. Songyun'. When Ren started his painting career if he had a commission for a landscape painting, he would go to Hu's place to ask for Hu's suggestions. Ren Bonian was so grateful to Hu's kindness and help that he painted 'Portrait of Mrs. Hu' in return of Hu's favour. 當初任伯年不善畫山水，得胡公壽之助。任作《榴生像》、《淞雲先生像》軸，都由胡公壽補景。任初賣畫時，客有訂購山水畫，任晚上即去胡家，胡指點助其成幅。任伯年深感知遇，曾作《胡公壽夫人像》報答”。 Cited in Ding Xiyuan's *Ren Bonian*, p. 27

"(1868, Zhejiang Provincial Museum). Ren Bonian's technique in portraiture has an obvious improvement. Those pictures also mark Ren's progress in that he gradually outgrew the influence of Fei Danxu and the two senior Ren's, and began to develop a style of his own. Ren Bonian did not stay in Suzhou for very long. In the winter of 1868 he left for Shanghai 上海, a bigger city to develop his artistic career. The decision was possibly Hu Gongshou's suggestion, since Hu had an offer from the Money Association in Shanghai at about the same time.¹⁷

C. The Newcomer in Shanghai

As the biggest treaty port in late Qing China, Shanghai was a commercial centre filled with rich merchants, compradors and foreign stimuli. As described in Zhang Mingke's *Hansongge tanyi suolu* 寒松閣談藝瑣錄,

Since the treaty opening the ports, no other place has done so much business as in a corner of Shanghai. This vivid business atmosphere of the city attracted many artists who earned their living by using ink-slabs to come and sell their paintings here.¹⁸

自海禁一開，貿易之盛，無過上海一隅，而以硯田爲生

¹⁷ Fan Ruo, *Haishang huayu*, "Hu (Gongshou) was commissioned by the Money Association in Shanghai at that time. He not only tried his best to introduce [Ren Bonian], but also found him a place to work in the fan shop – Gu xiang shi. In a few years time, Ren Bonian already became famous. 胡爲錢業工會所禮聘，揚譽自易爲力，且代覓古香室箋扇店，安設筆硯。不數年，畫名大噪", cited in Ding Xiyuan's *Ren Bonian*, p.25

¹⁸ See Zhang Mingke's *Hansongge tanyi suolu* 寒松閣談藝瑣錄, chapter 6.

者，亦皆于于而來，僑居賣畫。

The active economic circumstances provided more opportunities for getting jobs. The city also appealed to some people who were seeking advantages or to make their fortunes and fame.

When Ren Bonian first came to Shanghai, he did not gain much attention. According to the *Nangting biji* 南亭筆記 by the late Qing novelist, Li Boyuan 李伯元 (1867~1906),

Ren Bonian's technique in painting is wonderful. But he was not well known when he first came to Shanghai. He only worked for a fan shop outside the North Gate, and earned a few thousand *wen*¹⁹ monthly.²⁰

任伯年畫法超妙，頗初不著名，由於滬，為北門外某扇舖佐經濟，月得錢數千文。

Luckily, Hu Gongshou gave Ren Bonian his generous help and encouragement during this period. He not only introduced Ren to the art circle there, but also persuaded a famous fan shop, "Ancient Aroma fan shop" 古香室箋扇店, to offer the young artist a place to paint and the chance to

¹⁹ The 14 September 1850 issue of the North-China Herald gave prices for food in the market for the Chinese in the Shanghai city:

Chicken	70 wen	Fish	45 wen
Duck	70 wen	Flour	25 wen
Eggs	40 wen	Crystal sugar	9 wen

²⁰ Fan Ruo, *Haishang huayu*, cited by Wang Jingxian's "Ren Bonian qiren qiyi 任伯年其人其藝", *Ren Bonian zuopin ji* 任伯年作品集, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992, p. 15

display his paintings.²¹

Ren Bonian lived in Yu Garden 豫園. It is one of the enclosures of the Chenghuang Temple 城隍廟, the main entertainment area for the public in Shanghai at that time. Chen Dieye has a vivid description of Ren's life there,

Ren Bonian was not successful as a painter when he first came to Shanghai. He lived in a small roof garret in Yu Garden of the temple, next to Chunfeng deylou (Pavilion of Enjoying the Spring Breeze). Below the teashop was a place to keep sheep. Bonian often forgot about his meals while observing the sheep from his window. He then learnt to draw various habits and gestures of sheep, his drawings of sheep are so vivid that viewers were very impressed. Later on, Bonian bought some chickens and put them in his room. His room was only big enough for a narrow bed: he slept above and the chickens roosted below. He then was able to draw chickens very well. There are many little rooms in the temple and many birds roost there. Bonian watched birds singing everyday and was able to draw birds. He observed passengers, noisy tea shop scenes and pretty girls, and became famous for being capable of painting any person in any pose.²²

²¹ Shan Guolin, 'The Cultural Significance of the Shanghai School', in *Chinese Paintings from the Shanghai Museum*, pp. 10.

²² Chen Dieye 陳蝶野, cited in *Xiongshi meishu* 雄獅美術, Dec 1982; see also Ding Xiyuan, *Ren Bonian*, p. 25

伯年初到上海，極不得意，假邑廟豫園一椽而居。其鄰爲春風得意樓，下羊圈，伯年倚窗觀羊，每忘飲食，久之盡得走駭眠食之態以寫羊，觀者以爲真羊。乃益買雞畜之室中，室僅一椽半床之隔，下居疇而上棲人，久之又畫得雞之生態。邑廟本多廬，多鳥肆，伯年日佇足觀望其歌鳴，久之又盡得鳥之生態，寢至觀人行者，走者，茶樓之喧囂，游女之妖冶，乃盡入其筆而畫名乃噪。

By being in an area full of activity, Ren Bonian was able to meet lots of people of all classes and see various happenings in the temple whenever a celebration or festival was taking place. As shown in a picture made by Wu Youru (Fig. 4, *Lively Life in the Yu Garden*), the busy environment offered him a good source for studying the common people and scenes of daily life. The vulgar life-style also affects his usage of language in art. Ren's paintings of the early 1870s¹ often speak in a cheerful, colourful tone on paper, sometimes even using gold-foiled paper. The presentation of the image is so bright in contrast to the mainstream painting in Beijing after the Four Wangs. The subjects are mostly of flower-and-birds, auspicious offerings, historical figures and folk legends and beliefs that are familiar to ordinary people.

During this period, he made acquaintance with Zhang Xiong 張熊 (1803~1886), Wu Youru 吳友如 (1850~1893) and Jiang Shinong 姜石農 (1827~?). He also met Xugu 虛谷 (1823~1896) in 1870 through an introduction by Hu Gongshou. The two artists not only produced some works together, but also had a very close friendship.

Xugu, whose name was Zhu Xubai 朱虛白 (self styled as Hairen 懷仁)

before he became a monk, was seventeen years senior to Ren Bonian, and a descendant in Anhui of the neo-Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130~1200). In his early years, he passed the national exams, held a position in the Military and fought against the Taiping Rebels. In 1852, Xugu gave up his military position and became a Buddhist monk. He was not bound to the Buddhist laws and sold paintings to gain his livelihood in Shanghai, just as Ren Bonian had started his painting career because of the loss of his father during the Taiping Rebellion. The modern scholar, Ding Xiyuan suggested that their unusual experience of both being involved in the Taiping Army is a reason behind their solid friendship.

This close relationship between Ren Bonian and Xugu started before 1870 and is presented in "Portrait of Mr. Yongzhi at the age of fifty 詠之先生小像" (1870), a joint work by the two painters. Xugu drew a picture of Ren Bonian's house "Shanyin caotang 山陰草堂" (The Thatched Hall of Shanyin, 1887), and Ren also painted a "Portrait of Xugu 虛谷小像" (1888) in return.

Ren was also a good friend of Gao Yong 高邕 (also Gao Yongzhi 高邕之, 1850~1921), a calligrapher and art collector. Although Gao Yong was ten years younger than Ren Bonian, they shared an interest in painting, calligraphy and art theories, and often forgot about time when they saw each other. Fan Ruo's *Haishang huayu* has an interesting description of their close friendship.

Bonian would disappear for the whole day every time he had a chance to go out. But his family did not like him to be out often, [preferring him] to produce more work to earn money. Once when someone was loudly knocking

at the door, the family got very annoyed [and refused to open the door], until they found out that it was Wu Changshuo standing outside. When they finally opened the door with smiles, they excused themselves with a laugh, "We did not realize it was you, Mr. Wu. We thought it was Yongzhi coming to invite (Bonian) out again!"²³

伯年出外，即終日不返，家人願其多作畫，可多得潤資，戒勿出，有日，聞槌門急，內出惡聲，既而察知呼音之爲吳昌碩，門始開，笑謝曰：「不知是吳先生，亦爲邕之又來引其去也。」

The writing shows vividly about Ren Bonian's liking for spending time with Gao Yong although he was often forced to paint by his wife manager. However, Gao Yong indeed brought new inspiration for Ren Bonian's style by showing Ren his rich collection of Shitao and Bada Shanren.²⁴

²³ Fan Ruofan's *Haishang huayu*, cited in Wang Jingxian's "Ren Bonian qiren qiyi 任伯年其人其藝", *Ren Bonian zuopin ji* 任伯年作品集, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992, p. 16

²⁴ Gao Yong was from a literary family and had inherited a good art collection. Among his collection, he particularly liked the work of Bada Shanren. Yang Yi noted that "Gao paints occasionally, yet his style is in between Bada and Shitao. 畫亦偶作，亦在八大石濤之間" (*Haishang molin*, cited in Ding Xiyuan's *Ren Bonian*, p.38.) According to Wu Changshuo's colophon on a horizontal panel in 1891 (collected in 金井凌雪, Japan; published in *Go Shōseki shogashū* 吳昌碩書畫集, ed. Matsumaru Tôgyo 松丸東魚, Tokyo, 1958, plate 7), it says: "The follower of Bada Shanren and Shitao — Li-an (Gao Yong's other name) collects quite a lot of paintings by Bada Shanren and Shitao, he asked me to write an inscription in seal script on this panel to certificate what treasure he has collected. After viewing his collection, I wrote this together with a poem to congratulate him. 八石從一 李龕藏八大石濤畫甚夥，屬篆是額示所寶也，看畢賀之以詩云". It is clearly evident in Wu's writing that Gao Yong collected Bada Shanren's paintings and showed them to friends. Ren Bonian might have viewed Bada's painting in Gao Yong's collection. As Yang Yi 楊逸 also recorded in his *Haishang molin* 海上墨林, "After (Ren Bonian) obtained an album by Bada Shanren, he understood the brush skill better. He would lift his arm and use upright brush even with the detailed paintings. 後得八大山人畫冊，更悟用筆之法，雖

Besides some personal contacts between artists, the founding of artistic societies became very popular in late Qing Shanghai. Through the introduction by Hu Gongshou and Zhang Xiong, Ren Bonian was able to become a member of a major art society such as Feidan ge 飛丹閣 in Shanghai. He then made acquaintance and shared experiences with the other members who included Wang Qiuyan 王秋言 (1813~1879), Wu Qingyun 吳慶雲 (?~1916), Wu Tao 吳滔 (1840~1895), Wu Guxiang 吳穀祥 (1848~1903), Yang Borun 楊伯潤 (1837~1911), Ren Yu 任預 (1853~1901), Pu Hua 蒲華 (1832~1911) and Wu Youru, and became active in the artistic circle in Shanghai.

Ren Bonian's name was also known to contemporary Japanese collectors and Cantonese merchants.

An interesting story of Ren Bonian being chased by a Cantonese merchant is mentioned in Fan Ruo's 方若 *Haishang huayu* 海上畫語,

When (Ren Bonian) lived in north Shanghai, a Cantonese businessman who wished to commission a painting waited outside Ren's house for a long time. Eventually they met while Ren was on his way home. The businessman followed Ren right into the painter's house.

極細之畫，必懸腕中鋒。”。 Gao Yong's collection including Chen Chun 陳淳, Dong Qichang 董其昌, Gong Xian 龔賢, Gao Qipei 高其佩, Song Mao 宋懋, Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬, Li Fangying 李方膺, Shi Tao 石濤, Wu Wei 吳偉, Dai Xi 戴熙, Li Dan 李憚, Gao Fenghan 高鳳翰, Zhang Dafeng 張大風 and Bada Shanren 八大山人 is referred in detail in his *Tuishan canshi luo canghua* 泰山殘石樓藏畫, Hangzhou: Siling yinshe, 1929, 10 volumes. Collection of Shanghai Library and Harvard Yenching Library.

Just before Ren went upstairs, he turned and said :
"You can't come in, it's my private room, you can't come
in, it's my private room!"

Later, people laughed about this incident.²⁵

記其寓城北時，一粵商索畫，累候不遇，值其自外歸，
尾隨入。伯年即登樓，返顧曰：「內房止步，內房止步。」
相傳爲笑柄。

Besides Cantonese commissioners, Ren Bonian was familiar to Japanese
connoisseurs who lived or travelled along the east coast of China.

Okada Kōsho 岡田篁所 (1820~1903), a Japanese doctor, who traveled
from Nagasaki to Shanghai and Suzhou in 1872, said in his *Huwu niki* 滬吳日
記:

Sixteenth (of the second month). Sunny. Went to the
Japanese Embassy with Eijyu in the morning, we visited the
diplomat Shinagawa Tadamichi and his secretary Kamishiro
Encho, both of whom I have been familiar with before.
Kamishiro, self-styled Weichuan, showed us painting and
calligraphy by Shanghai artists. I recorded what he said: "
Contemporary artists, such as Wang Yemei (flower painting),
Chen Rong (landscape painting), Zhu Menglu (flower
painting), Wu Zishu (flower painting), Ren Bonian (flower

²⁵ This draft by Fan Ruo is collected in Zhejiang Museum, here I adopt the Chinese passage

painting), Hu Gongshou (landscape painting), Zhang Zixiang (flower painting), Xie Liesheng (landscape painting), Ma Fushuo (calligraphy), Wu Jutan (calligraphy), Chen Yunsheng (calligraphy), Yu Xiang (figure painting) and Pan Yunqing (calligraphy), are famous for their artistic talents in Shanghai.”²⁶

十六日，晴。朝與永壽之日本公館，見品川（領事品川忠道）、神代（三等書記生神代延長）二氏。二人皆與余相識。神代氏號渭川，出上洋人書畫見示。即記其姓號，曰：「王冶梅（花卉）、陳榮（山水）、朱夢廬（花卉）、吳子書（花卉）、任伯年（花卉）、胡公壽（山水）、張子祥（花卉）、謝烈聲（山水）、馬復鑠（書法）、吳鞠潭（書法）、陳允升（書法）、雨香（人物）、項謹莊（書法）、潘韻卿（書法），以上數名，現在上洋，以書畫名者。」

And,

In early March (March 1st), the temperature is as high as 73 Celsius. Eijyu and I visited Yasuda Rôsan in the morning. Eijyu brought a basket of tea to share with us and Hongfeng (Yasuda's wife) offered us a meal. Rousan showed us the poems and letters sent by his

from Ding Xiyuan's *Ren Bonian*, p. 79

²⁶ Takeyoshi Tsuruta 鶴田武良, "來舶畫人研究 — 論王寅" (Study of a Chinese Painter who Came to Japan in the Early Meiji Period — Wang Yin), *Bijutsu kenkyû* 美術研究, No. 319, Kokuritsu Bunkazai kenkyûsho, Tokyo, Japan 日本東京國立文化財研究所 (National

friends from Ningpo and said: " People well-known for their painting and calligraphy talent are Zhu Menglu, Yang Liugu, Yang Peifu, Zhao Jiasheng, Deng Tiexian, Hu Gongshou, Ren Bonian, Zhang Zixiang, Lu Jingdao, Wang Dao, Guan Qinfang and Wang Yemei. The twelve people above are all professional artists and residents in Shanghai.²⁷

三月朔（公曆三月一日）熱七十三度。朝與永壽同訪老山（安田老山），永壽攜題籃煮茶共品，紅楓（安田老山之妻）作骨董飯供我輩。老山出示寧波諸人所寄尺牘詩賦，老山曰：「上海現今書畫有名者，朱夢廬、楊柳谷、楊佩甫、趙嘉生、鄧鐵仙、胡公壽、任栢年、張子祥、陸靜濤、王道、管琴舫、王冶梅，以上十二名，俱住上海，以書畫爲業者。

Wang Tao also regarded Ren Bonian as one of the excellent contemporary artists in his poem "Tongzhi nianjian lun Hujian shuhua qijue 同治年間論滬江書畫七絕", published in *Yingruan zazhi* 瀛壖雜誌, 1875.²⁸ As described by Yang Yi, "before (Ren Bonian) was forty, he had won a great reputation in both north and south of the Yangzi River. 年未及壯，已名重大江南北", Ren Bonian found his place in Shanghai and achieved great success as a professional painter before 1880.²⁹

Cultural Research Institute Tokyo), March 1982, p. 1

²⁷ Note 24, *ibid*.

²⁸ By Wang Tao 王韜, *Yingruan zazhi*, 1875, chapter 5

²⁹ Yang Yi, *Haishang molin* 海上墨林, 1920; reprinted by Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989, p.

D. The Mature Artist: Ren Bonian and his Circle

Apart from some artists and the owners of the fan shops, such as Zhu Jintang 朱錦堂 and Zeng Fengji 曾鳳寄, Ren Bonian did not have many friends nor did he lead a vigorous social life in Shanghai. In the early 1880's, Ren Bonian met Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 (1844~1927) who remained his friend for life and who later became one of the greatest bird and flower painters of the twentieth century in China. Although Wu was only a few years younger, it is said that Wu's pictorial creation of applying calligraphy and seal carving to the painting was suggested by Ren Bonian. According to Zheng Yimei's 鄭逸梅's *Xiao yang qiu* 小陽秋,

Wu Changshuo learned painting from Ren Bonian when Changshuo was already fifty. Bonian demonstrated the way of drawing plums and bamboo for Wu by using a few simple brushstrokes. Changshuo brought the drawings home and spent all his time to imitate Bonian's skill. After much practice, he brought his work for Bonian's opinion. Bonian gave a look and thought the drawing of bamboo quite like his style, whilst the plums look very round and full. He then said to Changshuo: "You are good at calligraphy, why don't you apply the technique of writing *zhou* and *zhuan* scripts to flower drawing and the running script to tree trunks? There are always ways of painting by inventing and borrowing techniques."

Since then, Changshuo worked very hard on painting and came everyday to Bonian to talk about art theory.³⁰

昌碩學畫於伯年，時昌碩年已五十矣。伯年爲其寫梅竹，寥寥數筆以示之。昌碩攜歸，日夕臨摹，積若干紙，請伯年政定。視之，則竹差得形似，梅則臃腫大不類。伯年曰：「子工書，不妨以篆籀寫花，草書作幹，變化貫通不難得其訣奧也。」

昌碩從此作畫甚勤，每日必至伯年處談畫理。

Fan Ruo also said,

Changshuo always asks for Bonian's guidance when he paints, so he calls Ren "Mr. Bonian"(in the respectful manner Chinese call the teacher) whenever mentioning Ren's name. It is like Bonian who is always grateful to Hu Gongshou and calls him "Mr. Gongshou".³¹

昌碩作畫，每就正於伯年，故道及輒稱「伯年先生」；猶伯年不忘知遇，稱胡公壽爲「公壽先生」。

The above passages suggest that Wu Changshuo's art benefited from Ren Bonian's guidance. But as shown in collected paintings of Wu Changshuo, Wu had already been an amateur artist before he met Ren, and had some

³⁰ Zheng Yimei, *Xiao yang qiu* 小陽秋, p.2

³¹ Recorded in Gong Chanxing's *Ren Bonian yanjiu*, p.87

pictures produced when he was thirty. Zheng Yimei's account was also wrong about the age of Wu Changshuo when he had Ren Bonian's advice on painting. As Ren Bonian wrote on his painting "Portrait of Officer Wujing 蕪菁亭長像" (1883, Wu Changshuo Memorial Gallery, Anji County, Zhejiang province): "Picture of Officer Wujing (Wu Changshuo) at his age of forty". Wu and Ren Bonian met when Wu Changshuo was in his late thirties, and perhaps their intensive friendship and shared interest in art began in Wu's forties instead of fifties. However, it is very possible that Wu Changshuo and Ren Bonian very often gathered to discuss painting. Also according to Wu Changshuo's colophon on the "Flower Album", he mentioned that he tried to imitate Ren Bonian's fluent brushwork, but always failed in presenting his calligraphic spirit.³² Therefore, Ren Bonian may have done the demonstrations for Wu Changshuo and given him suggestions in painting.

Their close friendship is shown in Ren's five portraits of Wu Changshuo, and several flower pictures Wu dedicated to Ren. These portraits are "Portrait of Officer Wujing 蕪菁亭長圖" (1883), "Looking at Heaven Hungrily 飢看天圖" (1886), "A Poor Officer 酸寒尉像" (1888), "Enjoying the Cool Shade of the Banana Tree 蕉陰納涼圖" (undated) and "Enjoying the Cool Shade of the Palm Tree 棕蔭納涼" (undated). Each of them vividly presents Wu Changshuo's personality. Wu Changshuo also carved several seals for Ren Bonian in return, such as "Bonian 伯年", "Bonian Longevity 伯年長壽", "Gentleman Ren 任公子", "Ren Bonian 任伯年", "The Wayfarer Shanyin 山陰道上行者", "Ren Yi's Seal 任頤之印", "Monk Ren 任和尚" and "Slave of

³² Note 29, *ibid.*

Painting 畫奴".³³ When Ren Bonian died, Wu Changshuo came from Suzhou to Shanghai. He wrote a poem,

Among artists in Shanghai, you are my closest friend and
the one I always follow in order to understand more about
ways of painting.

We have been to the Wu Liang Shrine together,³⁴
And our friendship is as solid as metal and stone, always
revealing our true feeling for each other.

As Jizi did when he lost a close friend, I shall be ashamed
of pulling out my sword now and ever,

For I have no one to study about mountains and talk about
where Changheng rises. (He once drew the picture
"Joining the army in Shanhai checkpoint" for me).³⁵

The elegance and talent (of Bonian) have come to an end,
Standing here by the railing, I am quietly crying in the
moonlight.³⁶

海上微觀等匏繫，日窮畫理逐先生。

武梁祠古增遊歷，金石聲高出性情。

脫劍今朝慚季子，讀山何地起長蘅（曾爲畫山海關從軍

³³ Ibid, appendix 3, Seals Index

³⁴ Wuliang Shrine, built by Wu family in 146~167 A.D. in Shandong, is famous for its many stone engravings. See Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of early Chinese Pictorial Art*, California: Stanford University Press, 1989.

³⁵ Wu Changshuo was asked to be his assistant by Wu Dacheng 吳大澂 (1835~1902) in August 1894. They stayed in Yu Checkpoint 榆關 and Shanhai checkpoint 山海關.

³⁶ Wu Changshuo added this colophon on 4th November, 1895, the day of Ren Bonian's death, on a picture painted jointly by Wu Changshuo, Ren Bonian and Li Jiafu in 1889. This painting is owned by Zhi Kan, a private collector in Ningpo. See Joohyun Lee (unpublished Ph. D. thesis), *Die Malerei Wu Changshuos*, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, Winter Semester 1999, plate 31.

圖)。

風流已矣應蜷舌，涕泗闌干對月明。

Wu also wrote the funeral couplet (*wan lian* 輓聯),

His brush leaves him a good name in history, as

imperishable as Han stones;

I cried a hundred times in the wind in calligraphy and

painting; I have lost the one who 'knew my music'.³⁷

畫筆千秋名，漢石隨泥同不朽；

臨風百回哭，水痕墨氣失知音。

Their encounter and mutual influence are magnificent in Chinese art history.

Because one of them broadened the subject matter and refreshed the technique, whilst the other created a new style in flower-and-bird painting, both have given inspiration to the painting of the twentieth century.

E. An Opium Addict (1891~1895)

Owing to his fame and success in painting, *Shen Bao* 申報 made prints of Ren Bonian's "Gods of Mountain and Water 山水總神圖", which were advertised for sale on January 14th, 1884. In June 1885, *Dianshizhai huabao* published Ren Bonian's "Ketu huagao 課徒畫稿" (Sketches for students) in order to

³⁷ "A person who knows my music" is an idiom, originally refers to the story of Boya and Shiqi who shared their interests in *qin* and exchanged their emotions through music. When Shuqi died, Boya immediately gave up the music, for he thought that no one would understand him and his music anymore in the world. This idiom then became a term to describe someone who truly understands the other person and who is often regarded as the best friend. This epitaph was collected in "Wu Changshuo shougao 吳昌碩手稿", Zhejiang Provincial Museum; cited in Ding Xiyuan's *Ren Bonian*, p. 111

appeal to the general readers.³⁸ In 1887, Ren's paintings were carved into prints and published as a book "Ren Bonian xiansheng zhenji huapu 任伯年先生真跡畫譜", with a foreword by the respected scholar Yu Yue 俞樾. This book was considered as essential for learners. Later in the same year, Chao Xun 巢勳 added several of Ren Bonian's paintings in the new edition of the *Mustard Seed Manual of Painting*. By the late 1880's, Ren Bonian was regarded as the best painter in Shanghai. His income was just good enough so that he did not need to take in a lot of students as other minor artists did. While his career went successfully, he was threatened by serious cough and breathing problems which may have been the result of smoking opium and heavy drinking.

According to "Ren Bonian pingzhuan 任伯年評傳", Ren Bonian became an opium addict in the 1890's,

Normally, Ren did not look very energetic. But after smoking opium, he became as lively as a dragon or a tiger, and was able to finish several pictures in one session.³⁹

Ailiyuan mengying lu 愛儷園夢影錄 also describes that Ren Bonian did not care about the price of his painting. Until his later years, he retained the price of "half a dollar for one square foot". But he did not feel like painting until he was short of money to buy opium. Unless asked by his very close friends, he would not pick up his brush at all. But when he decided to paint,

³⁸ *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報, no.47, June 1885

³⁹ Xu, Beihong 徐悲鴻 "Ren Bonian pingzhuan 任伯年評傳", *Duo Yun*, no. 3, May 1982, p.

he made sketches very carefully, and thought of the composition over and over while lying on the opium couch. When he started to paint, it only took him a few seconds to finish a picture, which is quite impressive.⁴⁰ Tian Fensheng 天憤生 also collected a story of Ren Bonian being too much addicted to opium to paint, in *Xinyulin* 新語林,

Ren Bonian, native of Shanyin and resident in Jiangsu province, is famous for his figure painting. People come continuously to ask for paintings by him. Yet Ren is not sociable and is very much addicted to opium, so that he does not care about his hair being too long and he is lazy about making pictures. Even if you double the commission, he still would not care to open his painting sheets. He does not really pay any attention to the piles of paper and silk scrolls handed in by his commissioners.

One day, Mr. Dai Yongbo and Mr. Yang Borun came by, and saw a young pupil crying at Ren's door. Dai asked him the reason for being so sad. The pupil answered: "My boss told me to give Mr. Ren the money for paintings several months ago, and I still have not received any painting from him so far. My boss thought that Mr. Ren did not paint for him because I had

kept the money. He made me come and ask for the painting again today, he threatens that if I cannot collect the painting today, he will beat me. Yet Mr. Ren still has not finished the painting, which is why I am crying here."

After listening to the pupil, Dai felt so angry that he said: "Is it a good behaviour of a famous person, to accept the commission and refuse to finish the work?" He then went in to see Ren with Yang. Ren was smoking on the couch when Dai suddenly came in and shouted at him loudly. Ren was very shocked and asked for an explanation. Dai said: "A young lad is crying at your door because you accepted the money and did not do any work for the commission. Is it the right thing to do? If you do not do something for him now, I will beat you up."

Thus Ren was forced to leave his smoking couch and work. Dai and Yang stood beside him, one helped to keep the sheet flat, the other one mixed the pigments for the painter. Ren Bonian lifted his brush and completed two fan paintings in a minute. Dai gave the pictures to the young pupil who was so grateful for Dai's generous help. People were all very delighted when

they heard this story.⁴¹

山陰任伯年，繪人物有聲，久居蘇，求畫者踵接。然性疏傲，且嗜鴉片煙，髮長常寸許，每懶於濡毫。倍送潤資，猶不一伸紙。紙絹山積，未嘗一顧。一日戴用柏先生與楊伯潤先生過其門，見一學徒倚門而泣。戴問故，曰：「店中先生命送畫資任先生家，請其作畫，數月未就。先生謂我乾沒潤資，故不得畫。今日又命我來取，云如不得，必將撻我。今任先生仍不見付，故泣耳。」戴怒曰：「名士可若是乎！受人錢，乃不為人畫？」遂與楊入。任方臥煙榻吸煙，戴突拍案呼任起，任驚問故。戴曰：「汝得人錢，不為人作畫，致豎子輩哭於門，是何道理？不速畫，我必打汝。」任不得已，即起畫。戴與楊一人爲伸紙，一人爲調顏色，任援筆濡染，頃刻間，兩扇并就。戴以付學徒，欣謝而去，聞者咸以爲快。

These records show not only how the cost of the drug weakened him both physically and financially, but also the impact that the habit of smoking opium had on his painting career. Ren Bonian was ill during the last years of his life. Although he did not stop painting, far fewer pictures were produced in 1894 and 1895. Ren Jinshu's "Remembering" mentions that Ren's heavy drinking also damaged his body. Only about five years before his death, he listened to his doctor's suggestion and stopped drinking. But from the early autumn to the end of winter, Ren Bonian was always disturbed by asthma and continuous

⁴¹ Xu Ke, *Qingbai leichao* 清稗類鈔, Hong Kong: Shangwu publisher, 1917, chapter 30, p.97-98. Also seen in *Shijie congkan Xin yulin* 世界叢談. 新語林, edited by Tian Fensheng 天憤生, Zhonghua guocui publisher 中華國粹書社印行, 1914, chapter 8, p. 6

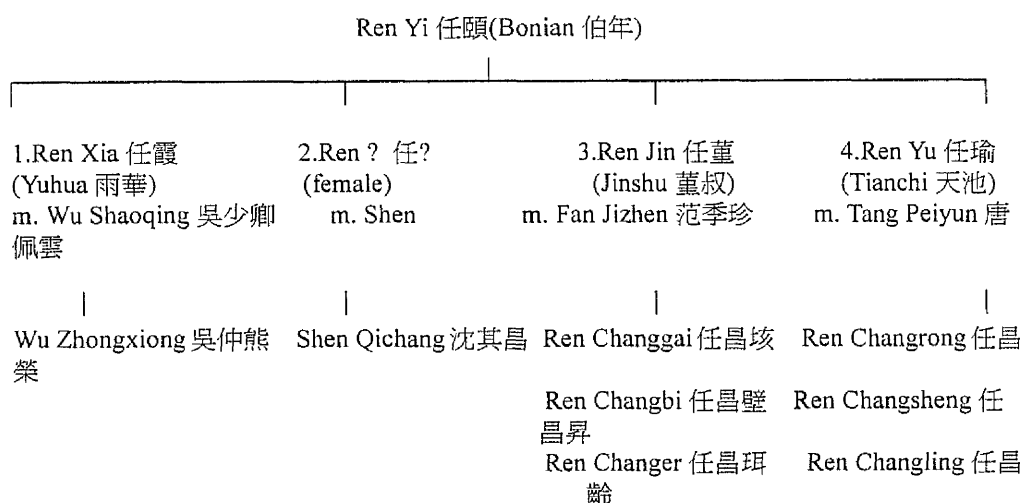
coughing. The artist died on the 4th day of the 11th month in the *yiwei* 乙未 year (December 19th, 1895), when he was fifty-six.⁴²

There are not many records about Ren's family and home life. His wife is said to have been a traditional housewife, who sometimes pushed Ren to paint in order to secure the family income. They had four children, two daughters and sons. The first daughter Ren Xia 任霞 (1869~1920) married a scholar, Wu Shaoqing 吳少卿, and succeeded to her father's career. Ren Xia was very skilled in colouring and drawing. As recorded in *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, Ren Xia was a good imitator of her father's style, although her brushwork is finer and more detailed. One can hardly notice the difference at first sight. Modern scholars have discovered that some of Ren's late paintings were done in his daughter's hand. There are also some fakes and copies done after Ren's death. It might be because of being hard up that Ren Xia was forced to do some painting using her father's name. She had no children and died in 1920 aged fifty-one. The second daughter's name is now lost, we only note that she was married to the Shen family in Yangzhou 揚州 and had a son named Shen Qichang 沈其昌. Ren Jin 任堇 (self-styled as Jinshu 堇叔, 1881~1936), the eldest son of Ren Bonian was more interested in literature than in painting. He married Fan Jizhen 范季珍 (1895~1948) and had one son and two daughters, they are Ren Changai 任長垓 (1917~) who now still lives in Shanghai; Ren Changbi 任昌璧 (also known as Yeping 野平, 1921~1938), who died at the age of 18; and Ren Changer 任昌珥 (1923~)

⁴² According to Wu Changshuo, "Lament for Mr. Ren Bonian who died on the fourth day of 11th month, 21st year of Guangxu, year *yiwei* (1895). 哭任伯年先生，光緒廿一年乙未十一月初四日歿。", writing kept in Zhejiang Provincial Museum; also see Wu's poem cited above, note 36.

who lives in Hong Kong. The second son of Ren Bonian, Ren Yu 任瑜 (self-styled as Tianchi 天池), is rarely mentioned. His wife was Tang Peiyun 唐佩雲, they had three sons: Ren Changrong 任昌榮 (now living in Taiwan), Ren Changsheng 任昌昇 and Ren Changling 任昌齡 who died young.⁴³

The family tree of Ren is as follows:



Ren Bonian, an ordinary person without good education and family background, moved from city to city and then became the most popular painter in Shanghai in the second half of the nineteenth century. Apart from a few trips to other nearby cities, Ren Bonian lived in Shanghai for twenty-eight years from 1868 onwards. As his success was largely brought about by the vigorous, commercial society in Shanghai, his life was also limited by that society, the boundaries of culture and class, and was ultimately destroyed by the stimulations of the city. The study of his life presents not only Ren Bonian's own circumstances, but also the struggles of many others in the tumultuous world of that time. As was finally said by the artist himself,

⁴³ Information from "Tan Ren san fang 談任三訪" (Three Interviews Relating to Ren Bonian) by Ding Xiyuan, *Mingjia hanmo* 名家瀚墨, no.28, 1992, p. 79-85.

The river dries up when it stops raining.

In such a late autumn, leaves are falling from the sparse
maple trees.

The scene echoes my desolations while being a guest here,

It cannot be solved by drinking wine,

Maybe studying painting will drive out my sadness.⁴⁴

江乾初霽雨，疏林落晚楓。此際客中有所感，雖杜康不
能解，或以讀畫破之。

⁴⁴ Colophon on Ren Bonian's "Flower and Bird", 1884, Nanjing Museum.

III. Source of Ren Bonian's Learning



III. Source of Ren Bonian's Learning

According to the existing records and publications, there are more than 500 figure paintings attributed to Ren Bonian. His earliest figure paintings known today were composed in 1865. Through the thirty years of his career, the subjects of Ren Bonian's figure painting often belong to a number of his standard themes. Besides portraits and images of anonymous folks, most of Ren's figures were based on historical stories or popular legends and figures such as the Eight Immortals, Zhong Kui, Su Shi, Mi Fu and so on. He was especially famous for his ability to capture the spirit of the subjects of his paintings. Ren's style and composition are also very creative and show his versatility over time.

This chapter firstly focuses on the sources of Ren Bonian's early learning from the old masters and woodcut prints. His move from the refined brushwork to the blunt brush mode in relation to Bada Shanren and Hua Yan is also discussed.

The influence of old masters and book illustration on the figural work of Ren Bonian before 1878

Ren Bonian gained his fame as a figure painter particularly in the style of Ren Xiong and Ren Xun whose works he forged in his early years. As with the two senior Rens, Ren Bonian's early figure paintings are in debt to Chen Hongshou's bright and detailed colouring, twisted, hard-edged and exaggerated brushwork.

Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1599~1652), a native of Zhuji County 諸暨 in Zhejiang, was also known as Chen Laolian 陳老蓮, Chen Zhanghou 陳章侯 and

Huichi 悔遲. After the fall of the Ming dynasty (1644), he was associated with loyalist artists and outlaws, and later became a Buddhist monk. Chen was a devoted calligrapher and painter but refused to follow the styles of former artists. His paintings are all executed with great skill, and all possess a distinct personal flavour. His figure paintings, in particular, are imposing in stature and awesome of countenance; although they are not drawn according to usual standard of realism, they possess a strong sense of reality. The lines twist and turn like coiled steel wire, full of spirit.

Chen's painting became the standard followed by many Qing dynasty figure painters. For example, "Ladies after Laolian (Chen Hongshou) 仿老蓮人物仕女圖" (Fig. 5), one of Ren Bonian's earliest works, painted in 1865, shows Ren's homage to Chen's brush style. Like Chen, Ren Bonian often used a set of brushes. After executing the lines with one brush, he would go back over them with a second brush. As we see on the drapery of the front lady, the drapery folds show the marvellous linear "*miao* 描" quality. Although Chen Hongshou's original painting is not available for us to make a direct comparison, there is another copy of it "Figures Beneath Cherry Three 櫻托丹源" by Ren Qi 任淇 in the collection of Nanjing Museum (Fig. 6) which has a similar composition to Ren Bonian's version.

"Two Female Immortals Offering Gifts 女仙圖" by Ren Bonian in 1874 (Fig. 7), and Ren Xiong's "Maji Offering Her Birthday Wish 麻姑獻壽" (Fig. 8) have an almost identical composition to Chen Hongshou's "Immortals Offering Gifts 仙人獻壽圖軸" in the National Palace Museum (Fig. 9). The two female figures are drawn in the centre with their hair arranged in tall, elaborate coiffures. Instead of both looking to their right, Ren Bonian's figures look in different directions. In the centre foreground of Ren Bonian's painting, the mistress figure

holds a wine cup, the maid standing behind carries a *jiujiezhang* 九節杖 (nine-sectioned staff) and a vase containing a bunch of lotus flowers. Although Ren's brushwork is wetter and the garment of the figures are less detailed and colourful, the outline of the drapery is more complex and smooth. Ren Bonian's every line, as in Chen's style, was produced with a single movement of the brush which reveals a great inner strength and excellence in skill.

Ren Bonian's debt to Chen Hongshou is acknowledged in his own inscription on a painting "Figure after Chen Hongshou 仿陳洪綬人物圖" (1874, Fig. 10):

Holding a candle I now write in Conghua Xianguan on the
Yuanxiao Festival in the *jiaxu* year (1874). My brush
follows my mood as I try to paint after Laolian's [Chen
Hongshou's] style. Other viewers [who saw this painting]
thought that I must have painted it based on an original.
Inscribed by Ren Bonian.

甲戌元宵秉燭寫於叢花仙館，性至筆隨，極學老蓮，鑒者
以爲有所得否，任伯年並記。¹

This colophon shows that by 1874, Ren Bonian was able to imitate Chen Hongshou's style so well that he could improvise new compositions in this style. Not only was he himself confident about it, but others also thought his skill highly, to the point where they felt sure they must be looking at a copy of an original painting by Chen. This painting indeed presents Chen's traits in double-outline brush mode "*shuanggou* 雙鉤", bright colouring and grotesque-like features very

¹ Figure after Chen Hongshou 仿陳洪綬人物圖, 1874, 137.3 x 32.6 cm, Shanghai Museum; published in *Illustrated Catalogue of Selected Works of Ancient Chinese Painting and Calligraphy* 中國古代畫畫圖目, vol. 5, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990, p. 419, plate Hu 滬 1-4589.

well.

Besides the influences brought by the two senior Rens and Chen Hongshou, Ren Bonian was also indebted to his predecessor Fei Danxu 費丹旭 (1802~1850, also known as Fei Xiaolou 費曉樓). Ren named himself “Xiaolou 小樓”, which is pronounced the same as Fei’s known name with a different first character. It is suspected that this name may have been intended to confuse the non-expert buyers at a time when Fei’s name was already well known and Ren was relatively unheard-of. We can see this signature in existing paintings such as “Bamboo and Lady 芭蕉仕女” (1865, Shanghai Art & Craft Trading Company), “Figures after Ren Hongshou 仿老蓮人物仕女圖” (1865, Duoyunxuan) and “Three Chivalrous Warriors 風塵三俠” (1867, Suzhou Museum). In Ren’s early female figures, we often see ladies drawn with slender shoulders, fragile appearance, expression-less and even somewhat absent-minded-looking faces, small mouth and eyes, tidy hairdos, elaborate garment design and elegant postures. These refinements of details and similar treatment in composition show Ren’s affinity to Fei Danxu’s painting of women.

Besides learning from the old masters, Ren Bonian’s figure painting had been nourished early in his career by popular book illustration and woodblock prints of the Ming and Qing dynasties.

The Influence of Book Illustration on Ren Bonian’s Early Figure Painting

From its invention in the Tang dynasty (618-906) the technique of woodblock

printing continued to advance through ensuing periods of Chinese history.² After this particular printing method had reached its zenith in the later centuries, book printing was no longer considered merely as a means of documenting and facilitating the dissemination of knowledge. Publishers also took the aesthetic needs of readers into earnest consideration. During the Yuan and the Ming dynasties, the addition of illustrations was found not only to increase the artistic appeal of books, but also to serve as a visual aid to heighten the readers' appreciation of the content of the text.

By the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a great variety of publications were accompanied by woodblock illustrations. Religious texts, agricultural, medical and encyclopaedic works, local gazetteers, travelogues, literary writings such as dramas, novels and poetry, painting manuals and design handbooks, among others, were all embellished by illustrations. Since the design and execution of visual material had become integral to the quality and success of books, publishers were eager to employ artists to compose original pictures in order to attract more patrons. By this time, artists, too, began to take far more serious interest in book illustration than before. Xiao Yuncong's 蕭雲從 (1596-1674) *Lisao tu* 離騷圖 (1645), Ding Yunpeng's 丁雲鵬 (act ca.1584-1618) ink cake designs in *Fangshi mopu* 方氏墨譜 (1588) and *Chengshi moyuan* 程氏墨苑 (1606), and also Chen Hongshou's 陳洪綬 (1599-1652) *Miben xixiang* 秘本西廂 (ca.1628-1643) are some of the

² There is an argument about when the printing technique was invented, yet it is for sure that the wood-carving technique had been widely applied to the business of printing items such as sutras and calendars by the Tang dynasty. The example given here is a Tang woodcut "Diamond Sutra 金剛般若波羅密多經" (866 A. D.) dedicated by Wang Jie 王玠 in order to wish his mother good health, found in Dunhuang, now collected in the British Library. The front piece of this woodcut work shows an image of the Buddha preaching in the Deer Garden, which presents the great excellence in both woodcarving and printing techniques. This woodblock illustration and other examples are collected in Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia*, Vol. II; also in L. C. Goodrich, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westwards*.

distinguished examples testifying to the high artistic standard achieved in late Ming and early Qing book illustration.³

The perfection of printing techniques ensured an output of excellent products at lower prices, which in turn guaranteed wider readership. In time greater accessibility to illustrated books opened up a new channel of learning for students aspiring to become painters, by way of copying and following instructions, which exerted considerable influence on the works of Qing dynasty painters in subject, composition and technique. Ren Bonian, who was active in Suzhou and Shanghai in the nineteenth century, stands out as an interesting example.

The Relationship between Prints and Ren Bonian's Early Figurative Style

Traditionally, it is often required to “imitate the antique 臨古” when one begins to learn Chinese painting. As mentioned in *Tongyin Lunhua* 桐蔭論畫 (Discourse on painting under the shade of wutong tree) by Qin Zuyong 秦祖永:

In painting, one needs to learn from the ancients, to have a broad view of many schools, and then to concentrate on the style of one or two masters. After imitating and viewing old pictures for long enough, one should be able to create one's own style and not be limited to the paths, followed by previous people.⁴

³ Some very good illustrations from *Chengshi moyuan* in N. Monnet, *Chine, l'empire du trait: Calligraphies et dessins du V^e au XIX^e siècle*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 2004, pp. 157~159.

⁴ Quoted in Shen Zicheng 沈子丞, *Lidai lunhua mingzhu huibian* 歷代論畫名著彙編, Taipei: Shijie shuju 世界書局, 1974, p. 625.

作畫需要師古人，博覽諸家，然後專宗一二家，臨摹觀
翫，熟習之久，自能另出手眼，不為前人蹊徑所拘。

Many people begin by copying ancient works as a first step for learning painting. Apart from a few fortunate people, most students were not able to have access to original works. Therefore learning from teachers becomes essential, and painting manuals also played important roles for self-training and inspiration. In Ren Bonian's early period, he first learnt the skill of ancestor portrait drawing from his father and later sought advice from Ren Xun, Hu Gongshou and Zhang Xiong. Besides the influence from his seniors, his early figurative work also bears the impact of painting manual and other printed illustrated books.

Ren Bonian's indebtedness to illustrated books is demonstrated by his figure paintings from his early period. Our first example to demonstrate Ren Bonian's connection with pictorial prints of figural subjects is the "Portrait of Zhou Xian 范湖居士四十二歲小像" (Fig. 11) drawn in 1867.

Ren depicts the artist collector Zhou Xian dressed in a wide-brimmed rain hat and flowing robes while walking with a long stick in his right hand. The brushwork is slender and elongated; the slight colouring on the face suggests the age and liveliness of the subject. The posture of Ren's figure finds a close parallel in a illustration of "Farmer after Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫山樵" (Fig. 12) in *Jieziyuan huazhuan* 芥子園畫傳, (Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting, 1818) and Ren Xiong's "Portrait of Lu You 陸游像" (Fig. 13) in *Yuyue xianxianzhuan* 於越先賢傳 (Illustrated Biographies of Virtuous Ancients of the Yue Region, 1856). In these line drawings the figures depicted on the empty background also wear a wide-brimmed rain hat and carry sticks in their right hands. Affinities in compositional structure and components suggest Ren

Bonian's familiarity with these works or other illustrations of comparable design.

Jieziyuan huazhuan was first compiled and published in 3 volumes from 1679 to 1701 by Wang Gai 王概 (act. 1680-1700), with the assistance of his brothers Wang Shi 王蓍 and Wang Zhi 王質. Intended as a painting guide for beginners, their manual gives examples of styles of many of the masters and of most of the standard repertoire of every important painting school. Furthermore, Wang Gai offered his advice to beginners on problems of brushwork, as well as the handling of ink tones, composition and perspective. Following the popularity of the first three volumes, the fourth volume was published in Suzhou Xiaoyou shanfang 小酉山房 in 1818. This 1818 edition is particularly defined as a manual of figure painting. Although this painting manual was not taken seriously in scholarly circles, it was hailed among the general public for its encyclopaedic approach that provided clearly-explained basic steps for those who wished to learn to paint. It also offered a source of inspiration for later painters such as Ren Xiong and Ren Bonian.

The manual was reprinted several times. In 1886, the four volumes of the manual were also reproduced by lithography, while contemporary works by famous painters such as Ren Bonian and Wu Changshuo were compiled into the Fifth Volume and published in Shanghai in the same year. The new lithographic manual was based on woodcut version owned by Zhang Zixiang 張子祥, an important Shanghai artist and the teacher of the editor, Chao Xun. 巢勳.⁵ Although Ren Bonian might not have been able to see the pictures in Zhang Zixiang's place, since the "Portrait of Zhou Xian" was painted in 1867, before Ren's acquaintance with Zhang. It is very likely that Ren Bonian borrowed the

⁵ According to *Hansongge tanyi suolu* 寒松閣談藝瑣錄 and the preface in *Zhongguo banhua shi* 中國版畫史 by Wang Bomin 王伯敏, Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1961, p.167.

composition of *Jieziyuan huazhuan* indirectly through Ren Xiong's *Yuyue xianxianzhuan* while he stayed with Ren Xiong's patrons, Yao Xie and Zhou Xian in Ninpo during 1864 to early 1868.⁶ It also suggests that artists tended to collect painting manuals and used them as the sources for inspiration.

Another example showing Ren Bonian's borrowing from *Jieziyuan huazhuan* is again a work of portraiture. Painted in 1869, it was entitled "Portrait of Mr. Ren Songyun 任淞雲先生像" (Fig. 14). The sitter was Ren Bonian's father who had died during the Taiping Rebellion a few years before this painting was made. Drawing the subject from memory, Ren depicted his father as an old man in white robe leaning on a rock in the foreground. His figure was thin and the facial expression a bit lonely and tired.

It is labelled as "Recluse" by Jin Nong 金農 (Fig. 15). An almost identical male figure in the *Jieziyuan huazhuan* is illustrated as an example of a lone figure resting on a rock. Although their posture remains more or less the same, their clothing and temperaments are different. Ren Bonian has transformed the lazily seated recluse into an image of an old man who seemingly had many experiences of the hardships of life.

In female and religious figure paintings Ren Bonian found even greater inspiration from book illustration. Among his extant oeuvre a number of paintings testify to his debt to illustrated publications, in particular: *Lingyange gongchen tu* 凌煙閣功臣圖, *Miben xixiang* 秘本西廂, *Lisao tu* 離騷圖 and the much more ephemeral form of playing cards for use in drinking and at the gambling table by Ren Xiong.

Two paintings "Flower and Lady 花容玉貌" (1874, Fig. 16) and "Plum and

⁶ For example, Ren Bonian's colophon in "Parting by the River Xiaojia 小浹江話別圖" (1866, The Palace Museum, Beijing) clearly stated that "Junior brother Ren Yi writing in the Qinyong lou, Dameishan Guan." The Dameishan Guan 大梅山館 was Yao Xie's 姚燮 studio.

Lady 臨窗觀梅” (1878, Fig. 17) both depict a lady with her head gently turning to her right as a main subject and some flowers beside her as a decorative scene. In these two paintings, Ren Bonian shows a distinctive concern to impress on the viewer his technical excellence through a few lines of soft skin of the ladies’ cheeks, chin and neck, the fine curve of the eyebrow, and the calmness of the facial expression.

A similar interest in female drawing through neat, simple, and refined linear design can be found in *Miben xixiang* 秘本西廂 (Romance of the Western Chamber, private edition) published during the Chongzhen era (1628-1643). *Miben Xixiang* was a drama written by Wang Shifu 王實甫 (act. early 13th c.) and completed by Guan Hanqing 關漢卿 (act. mid-13th c.). It was subsequently illustrated by Chen Hongshou and carved by Xiang Nanzhou 項南洲. Compared with Ren Bonian’s lady figures, one illustration from the book which shows a *Portrait of Ying Ying* 鶯鶯 (Fig. 18) reveals some points of similarity: an interest in depicting the figure against a neutral background, complemented only by the bare minimum of elements to indicate the nature of the environment; the oval face of the lady with slender eyes, long eyebrows, soft skin and small mouth; and most important of all, the use of finer brushwork to describe the subjects.

One finds then that Ren Bonian’s figure paintings of 1865~1878 share a common approach in style and that linear drawing is a much more obvious and essential element in his painting. Without doubt this reflects Ren’s intense interest in woodblock illustration during this period. The best example from Ren Bonian’s work is “Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes 群仙祝壽圖” (Fig. 19) which shows clearly the link between old masters, prints, manual books of painting and Ren Bonian’s early learning.

“Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes” is a set of twelve pictures

painted by Ren Bonian on gold-foiled screens. The set is now collected in Shanghai Artists Society 上海美術家協會 in China. Each panel is 206.8 cm tall and 59.5 cm wide.

This set of paintings was discovered eventually by Qian Jingtang 錢鏡塘 in the early 1950s in Shanghai market.⁷ As an expert and admirer of Ren Bonian's art, Qian Jingtang, recognised the value of this work at his first sight. He saved the set from that fate of being destroyed by paying the dealer a much higher price immediately. When he purchased it, the work only bore a signature of "Tang Yin 唐寅" on the lower left corner of the twelfth panel which had in fact been added by the antique dealer himself. Qian Jingtang erased the fake signature and re-mounted the whole set of paintings. Qian then stamped a seal used by Ren Bonian in his early years (Ren Yi yin 任頤印) on the lower-right corner of each panel, and also asked Zhang Shiyuan 張石園, a respected connoisseur and friend of Qian's, for a colophon.⁸ Zhang wrote:

Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes, one of the original screen paintings by Ren Bonian (twelve pictures in total) was made when the painter was around 38 years old. Inscribed and signed by Buddhist Shiyuan.⁹

任伯年群仙祝壽真跡通景之一（共十二幅），約三十八歲

⁷ In Ding Xiyuan's interview with Qian Jingtang, he wrote that Qian found this set of paintings when an antique dealer was allegedly going to melt the gold-foiled surface of the pictures for money. However, this sounds very unlikely since as the gold leaf is so thin that there would be little chance of retrieving anything useful. For the interview, see *Mingjia hanmo* 名家翰墨, no. 28, 1992, p. 71~72.

⁸ Ding Xiyuan gave a very detailed survey on the collecting history of this set of paintings, see "Lun Ren Bonian 'Qunxian zhushou tu' 論任伯年群仙祝壽圖", *Duoyun* 朵雲, no.3, May 1982, pp.182~189. For Qian Jingtang's collection of Ren Bonian's seals and paintings, see Chapter 6; also Wang, Yuntian 王運天, "Ren Bonian de mafanshi 任伯年的麻煩事" (Troubles in the Study of Ren Bonian), Newsletter of the Chinese Painting Academy of Shanghai 上海中國畫院通訊, no.1, June 1997, pp. 41.

⁹ Published in Ding Xiyuan's "Lun Ren Bonian 'Qunxian zhushou tu'", pp.186.

作，石園居士題簽。

In the first panel, three of the Eight Immortals 八仙 are depicted, from the left to right, the figures are Han Zhongli 漢鍾離, Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 and Zhang Guolao 張果老 with his two servants.

Wearing the distinctive bright red robe, Zhang Guolao rides on an ox and holds a scroll on his right hand (Fig. 20). His appearance is eccentric and his cheekbones, forehead and the bald skull are more prominent than normal. Comparing this figure to the picture of Laozi 老子 in Ren Xiong's *Liexian jiupai* 列仙酒牌 (Fig. 21), both share the affinity in the grotesque shape of the head and the brushwork of long thin lines and angular drapery folds. This familiar image of Laozi can be seen in the illustrated books of *Laozi Daodejing* 老子道德經 (1460, Fig. 22) and *Liexian quanzhuan* 列仙全傳 (1600, Fig. 23). In both pictures, Laozi is riding on an ox and showing us mostly the left side of his face. The backbone of the ox in these pictures is vividly drawn in a few fine lines. The notable difference between these works is that the elaborate design of the background scene in the earlier work has disappeared in both Ren Xiong and Ren Bonian's pictures. It also suggests that the keen interest shown by the artists who created the Ming prints in detailed drawing of the background had slowly faded out, giving way to a new interest of depicting the essential elements of a scene. This approach has been more popular since the late Ming.

The impact of *Liexian Jiupai* is also shown on the second panel of the painting. Four of the Eight Immortals are drawn cheerfully here. The posture of the female immortal He Xiangnu 何仙姑 (Fig. 24) is almost the same as the attendant on the right in Ren Qi's painting "Fang Chen Hongshou songzi dekui tu 仿陳洪綬送子得魁圖" (Wishing for high official rank for a son, after Chen

Hongshou, Fig. 25). Both figures face right, and carry a staff upright with the left hand up and right hand down. Flowers and leaves are bound on the tips of both staffs. Ren Bonian's figure also shares a strong affinity with Ren Xiong's Mao Yujiang 毛玉姜 (Fig. 26) in *Liexian jiupai* 列仙酒牌, in that their costumes are made of willow leaves, their hair is decorated with flowers, and slender leaves of coconut palm are hung on their staffs.

Beside the influence of Ren Xiong's *Liexian jiupai*, the third panel of Ren Bonian's work also shows his familiarity with Liu Yuan's 劉源 *Lingyan ge gongchen tu* 凌煙閣功臣圖 (1668).

On this third panel, the image is divided into two parts. In the upper scene, two attendants of the Queen Mother of the West are riding a white crane and a red bat in the clouds, while the lower scene depicts five immortal figures crossing the sea. Here we can find the influence of *Lingyan ge gongchen tu*.¹⁰ In Ren's picture (Fig. 27), the image of a man holding his knee and sitting on a carpet with his pot of tea is borrowed from Liu Yuan's Bodhisattva figure after Liu Chen 劉岑 (Fig. 28). As well as the gesture, their features are particularly similar, both figures have long thin eyes, pointed beard, and some ornaments on the top of their hair. Although the outline of Liu's figure is drawn in rather curly brushwork, yet their neckbands are open wide to suggest the rather relaxed nature of the figures.

Besides, Ren's figure in the same panel who opens a scroll on a boat is also similar to Liu Yuan's Yin Zhihong 殷志宏 in *Lingyan ge gongchen tu* (Fig. 29, Fig. 30). The figures not only have their hair tied in a bundle, but also turn their

¹⁰ *Lingyan ge* was a kind of national Valhalla, under the Tang dynasty. In A. D. 643, Yan Liben painted twenty-four portraits of meritorious officials for this gallery. In 1668 during Kangxi Emperor's regime of the Qing, *Lingyan ge gongchen tu* 凌煙閣功臣圖 was illustrated by Liu Yuan 劉源 and carved by Zhou Kui 朱圭 into woodcuts. The picture here is published in *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan* 中國古代版畫叢刊 (Compilation of Ancient Chinese Woodcuts) vol.4, edited by Zheng Zhenduo, Shanghai, 1988.

backs on the viewer as they examine a scroll.

In the panel four, the scene is again divided into upper and lower parts. In the upper scene, there are three maids and the Queen Mother of the West 西王母 (Fig. 31). The central figure represents the Queen Mother of the West, who is made distinctive by her tall proportion, the exaggerated sweep of her sleeves, expensive jewellery hanging on the robe, the heavily coloured blue bird as her steed, and the sense of individuality in the gesture. The figure is similar to Xiao Yuncong's lady figure in *Tianwun - Jingniao yixi of Lisao tu* 離騷圖, 天問京鳥貽喜篇 (Fig. 32). Although Xiao Yuncong's figure is standing up instead of riding a bird, both ladies fold their hands in front of their chests and have a calm facial expression, expensive jewellery, a red knot and strings on one side of the skirt. Besides, the edges of their long sleeves are painted in relatively dark colour for a more plastic visual effect.

Apart from borrowing the gesture and design of clothing from Xiao Yuncong, the familiar description of Ren Bonian's subject is also found in Ren Xiong's portrait of Xie Ziran 謝自然 (Fig. 33) in *Liexian jiupai* 列仙酒牌. The composition of a figure seated on a flying blue phoenix with long tail appeared in both Ren Xiong and Ren Bonian's pictures. It is an obvious instance when Ren Bonian was influenced by Ren Xiong's woodcut prints.

Ren Bonian's admiration for Xiao Yuncong is again presented in other lady figures. On the fifth panel, three female attendants carry flowers and plates containing auspicious objects. The figure on the right (Fig. 34) is like the maid on the very left in Xiao Yuncong's *Jiuge - Donghuang taii of Lisao tu* 離騷圖, 九歌東皇太一篇 (Fig. 35). Those both hold a big offering dish while turning their backs to us.

Following by the housekeepers who watch the arrival of their mistress, in the

ninth panel, musicians are playing various instruments to welcome the Queen Mother of the West and the guests on the next two panels.

In the foreground scene of the ninth panel, the lady who is playing *qin* 琴 again shares the exactly the same posture with Xiao Yuncong's musician figure in *Jiuge - Donghuang taiyi of Lisao tu* 離騷圖,九歌東皇太一 (Fig. 36, Fig. 37). Notably, they both have unusually bony fingers and they look to their front instead of at their instrument.

Among the three figures in the middle scene of the same panel, the musician (Fig. 38) who plays the zither is very similar to the image of Lu Yunqing 盧雲卿 (Fig. 39) in *Nücaizi ji chatu* 女才子集插圖 (Book Illustrations of Talented Women). The figures compared here are both sitting under a banana tree, with gentle smiles on their faces, and their long narrow eyes are looking at their hands, which rest on the instrument.

The final example we offer here to show Ren Bonian's connection with book illustrations is the picture in the eleventh panel of "Immortals Offering their Birthday Wishes". In this picture, three lady figures (Fig. 40) who hold pinkish lotus flowers are standing on the right in front of the open rocky mountain, and the figure kneeling down on the left reminds us of the similar composition in Chen Hongshou's illustration for *Mucheng* in *Xixiang ji* 西廂記目成 (Fig. 41) (Romance of the Western Chamber). For instance, the flower decorates the hair of the figure who is facing forwards, and on her left the large peacock which turns its head back and stands on one foot is about the same size as the figure in both paintings.

This study shows that Ren Bonian has drawn heavily upon book illustrations for his inspiration. While it is certain that he must have had access to many more types of printed material with illustrations, what we have been able to

demonstrate here points to his definite contact with a variety of publications, notably drama (*Miben xixiang*, *Shuihu yezi*), historical records (*Lingyan ge gongchen tu*, *Wanxiaotang huazhuan*, *Yuyue xianxianzhuan zhuan*, *Liexian chuanzhuan*), prose-poem (*Lisao tu*), and painting manual (*Jieziyuan huazhuan*). Influence of these on his work can be seen in composition, subject, grotesque figurative design, emphasis on leaner drawing and the iron-wire brush mode. Judging from the time span of works by Ren Xiong and Ren Bonian shown here, we can also see a lasting effect of book illustration on the late Qing Shanghai painters.

Book illustration played a significant role as the model and the well of inspiration of ideas that nourished the amazingly abundant and interesting output of painting by Ren Bonian before 1878. Hence with his exposure to art history, Ren Bonian also found his inspiration in the works of Hua Yan, Luo Pin and Bada Shanren. After these influences took place in the late 1870s, Ren's brush gradually lost some of the angularity and detailed fineness of Chen Hongshou and Ren Xiong, and developed a more fluid, speedy and relaxed brush mode.

While Ren Bonian began to render his subjects using various treatments in terms of brushwork, he did not however entirely borrow or plagiarize their methods, nor was he bound by the methods of his own time. Rather, he gradually utilized his own perceptions and knowledge to define the strengths of the ancients.

Xieyi and Emotional Expression during 1878~1890 —

Bada Shanren and Ren Bonian's "Zhong Kui"

Xie 寫

In Ren Bonian's earlier work, he followed the trend of *gongbi* 工筆 tradition of a rather delicate and refined brush mode. The "Zhong Kui with Flowers on his Head" (Fig. 42, 1874) was an example to present Ren's early style. The outline of the subjects behind the figure is drawn in a thin, sharp, trimmed, iron-wire-like brushwork. And the brushwork on the figure's garment is longer and tapering; it was put down firmly to produce a strong dot, then trailed off in a tapering line to a fine point. Such lines are called nail-head-rat-tail brushstroke (*dingtou shuwei miao* 釘頭鼠尾描). This emphasis on fineness of linear drawing and the obvious combination of iron-wire brush line and nail-head stroke are indebted to the *gongbi* tradition inherited from Chen Hongshou and the two senior Rens.

In 1878, in the other "Zhong Kui" pictures (Fig. 43), the demon queller was depicted as a strong figure with an anguished appearance, and was about to punish the little fox-fairy kneeling down in front of him. The brush lines are wetter and thicker, and were pressed done with a more blunt, speedy movement, which conveys the spirit of Ren's freehand brush mode. Compared to his previous work, one can easily see signs of changing style in his brushwork in painting and calligraphy since 1878 onwards.

In the *Additional Gazetteer of Shanghai County* 上海縣續誌 edited by Wu Xin 吳馨 (d. 1919):

[Ren Bonian] paints figures and flowers and imitates the method of Northern Song by drawing the outline with pure

darkened ink. His colouring is thick and rich which is similar to the school of Laolian (Chen Hongshou). (He) was very much inspired by the painting albums by Bada Shanren. Even for detailed painting, (he) would use an upright brush with his arm lifted. (Ren) himself said, “my painting method can be summed up in just one word: *xie* ! 畫人物、花卉，仿北宋人法，純以焦墨鉤骨，賦色穠厚，近老蓮派。後得八大山人畫冊，亦有神悟。雖極細之畫，必懸腕中鋒，自言作畫如頤，差足當一「寫」字云。¹¹

The same remark is also recorded in Yang Yi's *Haishang molin*:

Before he was forty, (Ren Bonian's) fame was already regarded highly both south and north of Yangzi River. After (he) had painting albums by Bada Shanren, (he) was enlightened by the use of brush. Even for detailed painting, (he) would use an upright brush with his arm lifted. (Ren) himself said, “the painting method of Yi (Ren Bonian) can be summed up in one word: *xie* ! 年未及壯，已名重大江南北。後得八大山人畫冊，更悟用筆之法。雖極細之畫，必懸腕中鋒。自言“作畫如頤，差足當一寫字！”¹²

¹¹ Wu Xing 吳馨 (ed., 1918), *Additional Gazetteer of Shanghai County* 上海縣續誌, Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1975, chapter 21

¹² Yang Yi, *Haishang molin*, chapter 3, list 423.

According to Yang's account, Ren Bonian had seen some pictures by Bada Shanren by the late 1870s', and was inspired by their brushwork. Ren Bonian possibly have seen Bada Shanren's painting from his good friend Gao Yong's 高邕 collection. According to Yang Yi's *Haishan molin* (list 639), Gao Yong "occasionally did painting, [his style] is similar to Bada Shanren and Shi Tao. 畫亦偶作，亦在八大石濤之間". Gao also collected works of Bada and Shitao. For example, sixteen leaves of an album of Landscape, flower and bird pictures in Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (Fig. 44), bear the seal of Gao Yong, "Gao Yong guan xi 高邕觀喜" (Fig. 45), on the left corner of each leaf of calligraphy. Several paintings by Bada Shanren are listed in Gao Yong's catalogue of his collection — *Taishan canshi lou canghua* 泰山殘石樓藏畫, vol. 3 "Bada Shanren xingkai ce 八大山人行楷冊" and vol. 4 "Bada Shanren huaniao ce 八大山人花鳥冊".¹³ Bada Shanren's work seem to be much appreciated among Ren Bonian's friends. For instance, Yang Xian wrote a colophon on another album of flowers (Fig. 46) which was collected by Wu Chanshuo. Wu invited his artist friends for tea, to view the painting and to made comments.¹⁴

Used on its own, *xie* 寫 usually refers to writing, but as used here, it implies several alternative concepts. For instance, it could mean that Ren was applying the writing methods of calligraphy in his painting; or alternatively, that he was writing the *xieyi* 寫意 or conceptual approach in terms of painting technique and

¹³ Gao Yong, *Taishan cangshilou canghua*, Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe 西泠印社, 1929, collection of Harvard Yenching Library.

¹⁴ Bada Shanren, Flowers, 1694. Album leaves. Published in R. Barnhart, *Master of Lotus Garden*, Fig. 87. The colophon in the lower part was written by Yang Xian 楊峴 in the seventh month of year *yiwei* (1895).

philosophy.

With the first interpretation, Ren Bonian did indeed combine calligraphic forcefulness and linear drawing technique in his painting. For instance, in his “Zhong Kui” (Fig.47, undated), the painter employed the energetic and rhythmical movement with the brush pressed down at the beginning of each stroke. The rapid movement of the brush sometimes produced drier lines, creating a “flying white 飛白” effect, while the outline of Zhong Kui’s garment seems to be rendered in the bold and free manner characteristic of *xingshu* 行書, running script.

As Ren Bonian observed, calligraphy and painting are closely entangled in Bada Shanren’s pictures. In Bada’s “Swallows” (Fig. 48), the direct relationship between Bada’s calligraphy and painting is clearly evident on his drawing of weeds: after setting the brush onto the painting surface, he straightened out the tip of the brush to continue the line, first proceeding slowly, then lifting the brush slightly and moving along at greater speed. The movement of brush through the stroke corresponds to the manner of writing calligraphy.

Bada derived his brush manner in painting from the study and practice of calligraphy; Ren Bonian learnt from his example to sketch his subject with upright brush and present the effect of lightness and speed with lines, so that his strokes and lines were dynamic and almost three dimensional.

Another possibility is that Ren was referring to *xieyi* 寫意. *Xieyi* can be considered in terms of a technique which implies a freehand brushwork, as opposed to copying, *gongbi* 工筆 (laboured brushwork); or rigid adherence to convention. As a philosophical term, *xieyi* suggests “writing one’s mind”.

The method used in early figure painting came to be associated with the *gongbi* 工筆 style. The stylistic turning point came in the fourteenth century when a small group of scholar-painters chose to confine themselves to brush

idioms derived from calligraphy. They attained such heights of excellence that *wenren hua* 文人畫 (literati painting) became the preferred approach within cultivated circles for the following five hundred years. Often, the art pupil's training emphasized exercises in calligraphy to the neglect of the study of nature, and encouraged him to bypass literal appearance in pursuit of the intrinsic spirit of a scene. The resulting painting mode, known as *xieyi* 寫意 facilitated a richly condensed statement with semi-abstract nuances. Following the example of earlier masters such as Liang Kai 梁楷, Xu Wei 徐渭, Bada Shanren 八大山人, and Shitao 石濤, the late Qing painters found the exemplars of *xieyi* mode an useful alternative to the popular *gongbi*, academic and Orthodox styles.

Technically, *xieyi* often refers to a speedy brushwork and simplified arrangement in composition where the painter does not need to draw every detail precisely, but singles out the object with hints of strokes or splashes of ink.

The portrayal of the two strange looking birds with angry or suspicious eyes in Ren's "Imitation of Bada Shanren's Myna 臨八大山人八哥圖" (Fig.49, 1886) is very similar to the pair presented in Bada's "Two Mynas on a Rock" (Fig. 50, 1692). Although Ren Bonian tried to imitate the velvety, mellow ink wash that Bada achieved in the rock and the bodies of the two birds, the tonality of Ren's ink wash was more dramatic and sharper, and the spatial arrangement was flatter as seen in the composition of the two birds. Bada used fewer strokes and dots to outline his subjects, so that his painting looks rather neat and impressive. In Ren's imitation, his speedy and blunt brushwork suggest Ren's attempt to copy Bada's free sketch and spontaneous expression.

Apart from the inspiration of *xieyi* in terms of brushwork, Ren Bonian no doubt also appreciated the unusually frank expression of the painter's emotion in Bada Shanren's work, as described in Zheng Xie's 鄭燮 comment on Bada

Shanren:

A monk burdened with talent for poetry and painting,
His beard white, his family and kingdom lost;
Countless scrolls were filled [when he] shook out his hand,
But for every drop of ink there were innumerable tears.

國破家亡鬢總皤，一囊詩畫作頭陀；
橫塗豎抹千千幅，墨點無多淚點多。¹⁵

Bada Shanren (1526~1705), a descendant of the late Ming, escaped from the Qing armies and became a monk. His great sorrow and grief at the loss of country and family was transformed into and conveyed by the cynical, agitated, resentful looking animals and fish.

In traditional Chinese painting, such frank emotion was unusual. Bada Shanren, who had no interest in academic representation, created a new individual language designed idiosyncratically to reveal a very personal expression of his painful experience of life.

Later on, in the work of Eight Eccentrics in Yangzhou, artists carried on describing their personal feelings in the work, laughing and complaining about the conflicts between business and literary tradition and the world around them. Such conflicts also arose in late nineteenth-century Shanghai where one encountered the emergence of Western stimulations and the fading power of Chinese empire, so it is no wonder that Ren Bonian found his inspiration in such a profound kind of expressiveness.

¹⁵ Zheng Xie, *Zheng Banqiao chuanji* 鄭板橋全集, Shanghai: Shijie shuju, 1935; reprint, Henan: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1997, p. 140.

Even though Ren also painted to meet the demand of the market, on one occasion, he has to finish six or more Zhong Kui paintings on the day, since it was a custom for people in the nineteenth century Shanghai to hang Zhong Kui picture on the fifth day of the fifth month (of the lunar calendar), the Dragon Boat Festival, to expel the any devils from their lives and to pray for peace and good life for the whole year.¹⁶ However, Ren Bonian indeed conveyed his own emotion of grief through drawing more than 40 “Zhong Kui 鍾馗” (the demon queller) images repeatedly over two decades.

The harsh realities of the Opium War, the unequal treaties, and the mid-nineteenth century mass uprisings caused Qing courtiers and educated people to recognize the need to strengthen China. From the 1840s, Chinese scholars began examining and translating books of “Western learning”. Under the direction of modern-thinking scholars, western science, weapons, diplomatic practices, schools and languages were studied. The effort to graft Western technology onto Chinese institutions, conducted by scholar-generals, such as Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823~1901) and Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (1812~1885), became known as the Self-Strengthening Movement 自強運動, in a hope that national regeneration could be achieved through the application of Western practical methods. Amid these “Self-Strengthening” activities came an attempt to arrest the dynastic decline by restoring the traditional order. The effort was known as Tongzhi Restoration, named for the Tongzhi 同治 emperor (1862~1874), and was actually engineered by the Empress Dowager Ci Xi 慈禧太后 (1835~1908).

The bureaucracy was still deeply influenced by Neo-Confucian orthodoxy

¹⁶ In the “Zhong Kui In Red Ink” (Palace Museum, Beijing), Ren wrote that it was the fifth painting of the six Zhong Kui paintings he did on the fifth day of the fifth month, 1880.

which resulted in conflicts between the traditional scholars and the supporters of modern reform. Also, the leaders of the Self-Strengthening Movement did not recognize the significance of the political institutions and social theories that had fostered Western advances and innovations. The weakness led to the movement's failure.¹⁷

Chinese society was still reeling from the ravages of the Taiping and other rebellions, and foreign encroachments continued to threaten the integrity of China. Shanghai was one of the first treaty ports facing the enforcing foreign power. It was also experiencing growing internal pressures of economic origin, namely finding ways to absorb the increasing number of surplus labour from outside who sought a living in the City, the contrast between the rich and the poor, and the danger of rural discontent and a breakdown in law and order. Besides the arrival of Western power and the economic pressures, political corruption added to the headaches of the Shanghai literati.

It is said in a Qing novel, "Zhangui zhuan 斬鬼傳" (Story of Killing the Demons) by Liu Zhang 劉璋,

If the God (Zhong Kui) is looking for evil demons to kill,
actually [he can find] a lot in our living world,...the [only]
difference between ghosts and people is [in the nature of their]
heart. When a ghost's heart is upright, he could be a god;
when a man has a depraved heart, he is a demon.

尊神要斬妖邪，倒是陽間甚多，...凡人鬼之分，只在方寸。

¹⁷ See John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History*, M.A.: Harvard University Press, p. 217-221.

方寸正時，鬼可爲神；方寸不正時，人即爲鬼。¹⁸

Just as Ren Bonian depicted Zhong Kui angrily killing fox demons or little ghosts with his sword, in the context of writing and painting, Zhong Kui became a symbol of justice.

As written in Gao Yong's inscription on Ren Bonian's "Zhong Kui" (Fig. 51),

When I was young, poets were shocked by my talent,
But what use is reading? I'd rather act the fool.
Today I wish to borrow that gentleman's sword,
To light up this dark earth and sky.

Painted by Shanyin Ren Yi, inscribed by Renhe Gao Yong,
Shanghai.

少小名驚翰墨場，讀書無用且佯狂。
我今欲借先生劍，地黑天昏一吐光。
山陰任頤畫，仁和高邕題於上海並識¹⁹

In this poem, Gao Yong obviously expresses his deep wish on behalf of many others. That was not to be just a learned scholar, but a useful person with the power to clear the darkened circumstances in politics and society, no matter

¹⁸ Chapter 1, collected in *Guben pinghua xiaoshuo ji* 古本平話小說集, ed. Lu Gong 路工, Tan Tian 譚天, Beijing: People's Literature Publisher, 1984, p.500~504., undated, Shanghai Museum, red ink on paper, 95 x 39.8 cm

¹⁹ Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui, undated. Hanging scroll, red ink on paper, 95 x 39.8 cm Shanghai Museum.

whether to follow the restoration of tradition or a modernized reform.

Apart from the conveying his eagerness for justice directly, Ren Bonian also composed images of Zhong Kui in idleness as a satire, he also wrote upon his “Zhong Kui with a Sword 持劍鍾馗” (Fig. 52, undated):

Not drawing Zhong Kui going to the court,
But describing him playing with his sword and reciting
poems.
The states are peaceful and dutiful nowadays,
There is no need to trouble Mr. [Zhong Kui] to eat the
demons.
不繪鍾馗趨殿時，寫他彈劍哦新詩。
如今畿輔稱寧服，無勞先生吸魅魍²⁰

The irony was so frankly presented to blame those officers who were only busy with superfluous things and discarding of their own duties and political influences which could help to save the degenerating country.

As we also see in another “Zhong Kui” (Fig. 53, 1880) by Ren Bonian, the demon queller figure, his garment, shoes and the sword are presented in a few bold thin lines and some ink wash. In addition to such unimpeded and free brushwork, the work presents a masterful arrangement of simple but dynamic forms. The figure is standing in the central plane with two hands folding on his back, biting his lips slightly and looking sideways to the viewer from a higher view-point. Does not such a proud and unreserved temperament, such an

²⁰ Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui, undated. This painting is now lost. We can trace the original painting and colophon through a copy by Yan Yuan 顏元, Ren's student. Reproduced in Wang Jingxian ed., Ren Bonian huaji, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, vol. 2, p. 495.

agitated and sarcastic appearance of the Zhong Kui image in Ren's painting coincide with the same discontented expression in Bada Shanren's?

Influence of Hua Yan and Others

Apart from Bada Shanren's freehand brushwork, around 1877, Ren Bonian began to copy Hua Yan's painting. For example in Ren's "Bird and Bamboo in the Snow 麻雀雪竹圖" (Tianyige collection 天一閣 in Ningpo), a trace copy of Hua Yan's work, he stated: "Xinluo shanren wrote in jiejiguan. The mid-summer of the *dingchou* year (1877) of Guangxu, copied by Ren Bonian. 新羅山人寫於解弢館并題。光緒丁丑仲夏任伯年臨。" In this painting, he adopted the *jianbi* 減筆 (abbreviated brushwork) technique from Hua Yan, which is to indicate the subject with as few strokes or lines as possible. Ren also followed Hua Yan's expertise in combining delicate and blunt brushwork together in one painting, the so called *jiangong daixie* 兼工帶寫 or *xiao xieyi* 小寫意 style.

Hua Yan (1683~1755), known as Hua Qiuyue 華秋岳, Xinluo shanren 新羅山人, Baisha daoren 白沙道人, Dongyuansheng 東園生 and Ligou jushi 離垢居士, was born in Linting 臨汀 (Changting County 長汀縣, Fujian Province 福建省) and later moved to Hangzhou. He was regarded as one of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou.

Ren Bonian also made his comment on Hua Yan's brushwork, as written on his own work, "Lady Gongsun Dancing with Swords 公孫大娘舞劍" (1885):²¹

²¹ Ren Bonian, "Lady Gongsun Dancing with Swords 公孫大娘舞劍", 1885. Sketch, ink on paper, China Art Gallery, Beijing.

The way Xinluo Shanren (Hua Yan) uses brush is free and unrestricted like Lady Gongsun's uses of the sword, fluent and precise, that no one could compete with. It is ridiculous to see people these days who imitate Hua Yan soon after they pick up their brush.²² Summer of the year *yiyou* (1885), Bonian.

新羅山人用筆，如公孫氏舞劍器渾脫，瀏漓頓挫，一時莫與爭風。今人才一拈毫，輒仿新羅，益可笑焉！己酉夏伯年。

In this inscription, Ren conveyed his high opinion of Hua Yan's brushwork.

Later in 1888, he again wrote:

Xinluo Shanren's picture of "Xie Dongshan and his Concubines". My work imitates his idea slightly, like [Dongshi] imitating the smile of [Xishi] or [a foreigner trying to] learn the way [Handan people] walked. My work would only make people laugh. I write this to present my guilt (to Hua Yan). Ren Yi. In the seventh month, the autumn of *xinmao* year of Guangxu (1891).

新羅山人“謝東山攜妓圖”，余是作略仿其意，效顰學步，徒令人捧腹耳，書以志媿，任頤。時光緒辛卯秋七月。²³

These inscriptions show Ren Bonian's great admiration for Hua Yan, he even felt

²² i.e. as beginners in painting.

²³ Ren Bonian, "Xie Dongshan and his Concubines", 1891. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 182.2 x 96.4 cm, China Art Gallery, Beijing.

quite embarrassed by his own attempt to imitate the master's work.

Apart from the brushwork, Ren Bonian also depicted subject matters that were familiar in Hua Yan's painting. Such as "Writing on Banana Leaves 蕉葉題書", "Talking About Dao under the Tree 桐蔭論道", "Golden Valley Garden 金谷園", "Prose Poem of the Autumn Sound 秋聲賦", "Eight Immortals 八仙", "Listening to the Water 聽泉", "Washing the foot 滌足", "Shooting Swallows 射雁", "Looking upon the Landscape 關河一望蕭索" and so on. The difference is that while dealing with these old themes, instead of following the old composition faithfully, Ren Bonian enlarged the figures and singled them out as a major part of the painting. For instance, the composition in Ren Bonian's "Writing on Banana Leaves 蕉葉題書" (Fig. 54) shows an affinity to Hua Yan's picture of the same title (Fig. 55). In both pictures, the painters portrayed a seated elder scholar writing on a banana leaf on a large table outdoors, and a boy attendant standing by the left side of his master. Instead of depicting the figures being enclosed by rocks and banana trees at a distance, Ren Bonian fixed a close gaze upon his figures, as if changing from a long shot to a close-up, so that the figures were not placed in a frame but standing out to be close to the viewer.

As Ren wrote upon the painting "Golden Valley Garden" (Fig. 56, 1888) comparing his work with Hua Yan's "Golden Valley Garden 金谷園" (Fig. 57), he "learnt from Xinluo shanren, yet changed the arrangement slightly 師新羅山人而稍變其法". By bringing his figures forward, Ren's subjects become closer to the viewer, with the effect of a more friendly and impressive visual immediacy.

Ren Bonian had been skilled in the delicate linear drawing technique of *gongbi* tradition from Chen Hongshou school in the first decade of his life as a painter circa 1865~1875. From about 1877~1878, he was also influenced by Xu Wei, Bada Shanren and Hua Yan, and was capable of painting in the freehand

xieyi mode. From the late 1870s onwards, he freely applied several brush modes in his figure painting and developed his own style.

IV. OLD BOTTLES AND NEW WINE

— SEXUALITY, PATRONAGE AND REN BONIAN'S CHOICE OF SUBJECT MATTER



IV. Old Bottles and New Wine ¹

—Sexuality, Patronage and Ren Bonian's Choice of Subject Matter

According to the existing records and publications, there are more than 500 figure paintings attributed to Ren Bonian. His earliest figure paintings known today were composed in 1865. Through the thirty years of his career, the subjects of Ren Bonian's figure painting often belong to a number of standard themes. His work presented a pleasant visual immediacy by the lively colour, auspicious context or famous historical subject, which chiefly gave an impression of ease and cheerfulness. Although Ren Bonian's style was generally creative and versatile with time, however, since the 1880s, he repeatedly painted three kinds of historical and literary subjects: famous literati figures enjoying music with their female companions; the three chivalrous

¹ "New wine in old bottles" is an English expression which means the new wine would cause the bottle to shatter. It is also an old Chinese/Taiwanese idiom "new wine in old bottles 舊瓶裝新酒", that is to recycle the used wine bottles and refill them with new wine; even though the appearance of the wine bottles would look the same, the content (the flavour of wine) would taste quite different. By adopting the idiom here, we wish to point out that most of subjects of the works by Ren Bonian and his fellow artists were taken from well-known history, folk stories and legends, and those subjects have been portrayed by artists prior to Ren Bonian's time. But Ren Bonian employed the ancient historical figures with a slight modification, and gave it a new meaning and fresh visual presentation. This chapter aims to view Ren Bonian's choice of subject-matter, especially three subjects that he revisited repeatedly through four decades of his artistic life, in a social context. For the research sources, I am greatly indebted to Professor Rudolf G. Wagner and Dr. Catherine Yah for a very unique and rare set of nineteenth century materials on Shanghai entertainment, gathered in many years of labour and held in the library of the Institute of Chinese Studies at University of Heidelberg, Germany. From this precious collection, I was able to give an interpretation of the possible connections between the art, writing and lives of Ren Bonian and his close friends.

travellers of Tang stories; and solemn looking figures in the wintry wind. Compared with the other type of fashionable visual medium, the lithographic illustrations, dedicated to the detailed depiction of current events, local news and scandals of urban Shanghai, the paintings by Ren Bonian and his circle seem relatively traditional and quite irrelevant to their turbulent social background. At times, it seems that their pictures were offered to different audiences of an almost different world from the urban environment and social entanglement of the world of pictorials. Since historical subjects appeared frequently in the repertory of Ren Bonian, one of the most popular painters, we might ask: Why did Ren Bonian choose these subjects? Who were the members of Ren Bonian's audience? With what aspects of these subjects did they identify themselves, how did they identify themselves in the vogue of the time and the urban life? What contributed to the popularity of these subjects and what did these pictures represent in the context of late nineteenth-century Shanghai?

In considering the diverse elements of late nineteenth-century Shanghai, this study on the three standard themes of Ren Bonian's historical figure painting is our attempt to recollect the conflict of Ren Bonian's audience — intellectual immigrants — finding themselves in a world of sexual pleasures, and seeking self-identity and moral pursuits. In a hope to uncover the sentiment of Ren Bonian and his audience, we begin by linking the pictures of the buoyant subjects of historical narratives to the pictures of the real world of making merry.

A. Pictures of Making Merry

From the 1880 onwards, Ren Bonian had painted numerous pictures based on the stories of historical figures sharing musical pleasures with concubines and courtesans, for example Xie An 謝安 of the Eastern Jin 東晉 (317~420) enjoying his retirement with female musicians; Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1037~1101) accompanied by his concubine Wang Zhaoyun 王招雲 during his exile in 1094; Jiang Baishi 姜白石 (1155?~1221) and Xiaohong 小紅 dispelling their boredom by chanting music and boating. Depicting scenes of literati making merry with their concubines has been an established genre in the traditional Chinese painting before Ren Bonian.² However, the status of the female figures Ren chose for his subjects is associated with women of inferior status in a polygamous society, so that one might wonder: what was the element that raised the popularity and increasing audience of this glittery theme? Was it relating to the contemporary fashionable entertainment?

Painted in 1891, "Xie Dongshan and His Concubine 謝東山攜妓圖" (Fig. 58) was based on the story of Xie An who enjoyed music and his leisure time during his concealment in Mt. Dong 東山, Kuaiji 會稽 (now Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province) before he became the prime minister during the reign of the Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝 (362~396).³ In this picture, Xie An leans upon a red desk in the centre of the platform, three female musicians play *qin* 琴, *sanxian* 三絃 and *pai xiao* 排簫. One boy-servant stands on the right, and

² Examples could be found in Chen Hongshou's "Xingle tu 行樂圖" (Picture of Merry Making); Fei Danshu's "Yao Xie and Wives" and "Good News", both undated, in the Palace Museum, Beijing.

³ *Zhongguo gudai wenxue cidian*, 中國古代文學辭典 (Dictionary of Ancient Chinese Literature), Jia Chuantang, Zhang Changfa, Xu Shuchi and Xu Shizai ed., Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1987, p. 143~144.

another boy-servant comes from the left corner carrying a well-wrapped instrument. Rendered with slightly blunt brushwork, the huge tall trunk of the pine tree separates the space into two halves, and the main figure is partially obscured behind the tree in the centre. By the deliberate use of sharp tonal contrast with the light background, the bright red desk becomes so distinct that our focus would naturally fall on the desk and the face of a tired-looking Xie An resting above the red surface. This special arrangement is found in several of Ren Bonian's late works on the merry-making themes from historical narrative. "Yuju in Meditation 玉局參禪" (Fig. 59) and "Listening to Xiao Music Under a Pine Tree 松下聞簫" (Fig. 60) are fine examples. A similar use of locating the big trunk in the foreground is presented in the series of pictures based on the story of Jiang Baishi 姜白石 and his concubine Xiaohong 小紅.⁴ In the three hanging scrolls, one fan and a sketch of the story of Jiang Baishi, the painter showed a male figure playing flute and a female figure singing in the boat (Fig. 61 ~ Fig. 65).

The musical scenes remind us of Ren Bonian's love for music as his residence was called *qinshu zile caotang* 琴書自樂草堂 (Thatched hall of diverting oneself with music and books).⁵ However, the instruments in Ren Bonian's "Xie Dongshan and His Concubine 謝東山攜妓圖" are those commonly used in contemporary fashionable entertainment — *daqu* 大曲 given by singsong girls and courtesans in Shanghai: three or four female musicians

⁴ Xiaohong was originally a concubine of Fan Chengda 范成大. One day Jiang Baishi visited Fan and composed two *ci* 詞 as gift. Fan immediately asked Xiaohong to perform the verses. For her beautiful singing, Jiang Baishi was very attracted to her. Later, when Jiang was about to leave, Fan generously sent Xiaohong home with him. See *Quan Song ci diangu kaoshi cidian* 全宋詞典故考釋辭典, Jin Fanghua 金傲華 ed., Jilin: Wenshi chubanshe, 1991, p. 78.

⁵ Colophon in the "Portrait of Gao Yong as Beggar", 1887, Beijing Palace Museum.

performed on the *sanxian* 三弦, flute, *sheng* 笙 or beat the flat bamboo, and sang by turns in the banquets, pleasure quarters or outdoor events (Figs. 66, 68).⁶ Has the choice of such pleasure-seeking subjects in Ren's painting any connection with the vogue for such events in contemporary Shanghai? Do these pictures project new meaning under the guise of historical subject-matter?

B. World of Entertainment

The opening of Shanghai as a treaty port in 1843 initiated one process of colonization of the city and reconstructed another. One is the establishment of the foreign settlements and the rise of foreign trade (Fig. 70), the other is the rapid growth of immigrants from other areas of China that dominated the rapidly expanding urban population, economy and politics while the imperial force was weak. Some of these immigrants came in waves to escape war and famine in their native provinces and some came to Shanghai to seek economic opportunities. Throughout the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, immigrants of various class and occupations comprised at least 75 percent of the total population.⁷ Among them, an increasing number of immigrants also rushed into the foreign settlements for greater security, which therefore brought economical growth to north Shanghai, as recorded in *Songnan mengying lu* 淞

⁶ Langyouzi 浪遊子, "Daqu 大曲", *Haishang yanhua suoji* 海上煙花瑣記, Shanghai, 1877, chapter 2, p. 9.

⁷ The detailed chart is provided in Goodman, Byna, *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional networks and identities in Shanghai, 1853-1937*, Berkeley, The University of California Press, 1995, chapter 1, p.2.

南夢影錄:

As I remember coming to the Chun River (Shanghai) to
escape from the military attack,
At that time [people of] Chun River were still simple and
sincere;
After the Hong and Yang disasters,
Chun River became an assembling place of prosperity.
The present scenic spot was once [as desolate as] Mt.
Beimang,
Often we hear elder scholars talking about the swift
change of the world;
Where carts flow like a stream and horses move like a
dragon nowadays,
Once there was a graveyard of green phosphorescence
and white bones.
避兵憶我春江走，曩日春江猶樸厚；
一自紅羊浩劫過，春江變作繁華藪。
勝地從前數北邙，每聞文老話滄桑；
即今車水馬龍地，曾是青磷白骨場。⁸

⁸ The complimentary verse was given by Huang Jingyuan 黃靜園 (Shuren 樹人) to Huang Shiquan 黃式權, see "Tici 題詞", *Songnan mengying lu* 淞南夢影錄, 1883; reprinted by Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1989, p.97. Chun River 春江 is short for Chunshen River 春申江. Hongyang 紅羊 is Hongyang 洪楊, meaning Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全 and Yang Xiuqing 楊秀清, the leaders of Taiping Rebels during the 1851~1864. Beimang 北邙 means Mt. Beimang 北邙山 which is located north of Luoyang 洛陽, Henan Province. The metaphor suggests that the site in the Foreign Settlement in north Shanghai was previously a deserted place (in fact a graveyard).

Through its lively economy and secure environment, the growing population ensured the growth of business which in turn encouraged entertainment enterprises to move to the foreign settlements from the native-place of Shanghai city since the mid-nineteenth century.⁹ Eight kinds of entertainment were highly recommended by the contemporary guide books as “must try”, one should visit theatre 戲館, story-telling pavilion 書場, wine shop 酒樓, teashop 茶室, smoking (opium) house 煙間, garden 花園, brothel 堂子 and take a ride in a Western carriage 馬車.¹⁰ Nevertheless, all the entertainment businesses mentioned above were involved with female sexuality.

The reason for this was that most of the immigrants were male and did not bring their families to Shanghai with them, so the male population outnumbered the female about three times.¹¹ Since prostitution was legal in the foreign settlement, the vigorous activity and popularity of brothels, as described by Wang Tao, surpassed that of Yangzhou 揚州, and so many men from rich to poor of all classes spent their fortune and time on sexual indulgence.¹² Ge Yuanxu sharply commented on Shanghai as an “assembly place for brothels 滬上妓薈也” (Fig. 71) in his guidebook.¹³

In the past female musicians, singers or dancers, whether they offered

⁹ Wang Tao 王韜, *Yingruan zazhi* 瀛壖雜誌, Shanghai, 1871, chapter 1, p.8

¹⁰ Chi Zhicheng 池志澂 (1854~1937), *Huyou mengying* 滬游夢影, published in about 1893, reprinted in Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1989, p. 156.

¹¹ Male: Female= 299:100, Zou Yiren 鄒依仁, *Jiu Shanghai renkou bianqian de yanjiu* 舊上海人口變遷的研究 (Study on the changing population of the old Shanghai), Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1980, p.122.

¹² Wang Tao 王韜, *Yingruan zazhi* 瀛壖雜誌, Shanghai, 1871, Chapter 1, p.8

¹³ *Songnan mengying lu* 淞南夢影錄, 1883; reprinted by Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1989, p.123.

sexual services or not, were all called *ji* 妓, and women who only offered prostitution were called *chang* 娼. According to the service and their talents, women who offered carnal pleasure in late Qing Shanghai were divided into four basic ranks:¹⁴

The highest rank is *zhujia* 住家, generally known as *shuyu jinü* 書寓妓女 (Concubine of Book Dwelling). *Shuyu*, named in accord with *siyu* 私寓 (personal residence) or *siju* 私局 (personal bureau), originally suggested a private green house as opposed to the official prostitution *guanju* 官局. Besides personal charm, musical talent was an important pre-requisite for a *shuyu jinü* 書寓妓女. Most of them were from Jiangnan area and had literary learning and professional training in *kunqu* 崑曲 and *tanci* 彈詞, thus people also addressed them as *xiansheng* 先生 (teacher), *jiaoshu* 校書 (proof-reader), *lushi* 錄事 (recorder) or *nüshi* 女史 (female official).¹⁵ Unlike lower-rank courtesans, they were famed for their beauty, extraordinary garment, ability of singing, storytelling, and composing poems. Instead of drinking with customers, they were expected to invoke sensual pleasure through music and literary ability.¹⁶ Even though sexual intercourse was available, it was not the major focus of the activity; the meeting with beautiful *shuyu* courtesans was often portrayed as part of a romantic encounter rather than a commodified excitement.

¹⁴ Chi Zhicheng 池志澂 (1854~1937), *Huyou mengying* 滬游夢影, published in about 1893; reprinted by Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1989, p. 163. Gail Hershatte also provided a very solid study on classifying courtesans, see "The Hierarchy of Shanghai Prostitution, 1870~1949", *Modern China*, vol. 15, no. 4, October 1989, pp. 463~498.

¹⁵ Langyouzi 浪遊子, *Haishang yanhua suoji* 海上煙花瑣記, Shanghai, 1877, chapter 1, p. 1.

¹⁶ Gail Hershatte, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999, p. 42.

The second rank is *changsān* 長三 whose main services were to drink, eat and play *majiang* 麻將 with their guests (Fig. 72), or cheerfully accompany them to the invited social meeting. For in the foreign settlements, the courtesans were allowed to be active in public, the rich customers would invite them to restaurants, teashops, theatres or other kinds of gatherings for amusement and vanity (Figs. 73, 74). While cabs were not common, *changsān* would be called to parties with a ticket *jiupiao* 局票 (Fig. 75), and be carried in horse drawn carriages or on the shoulders of male brothel servants called *guinu* 龜奴 (Turtle Slave, Fig. 76); this would provide a live advertisement to the flower house they served.¹⁷ The *changsān* courtesans would also host banquets and gambling parties for their wealthy, frequent patrons. Traditionally, *changsān* prostitutes charged three *yuan* for drinking with the guests and three more for “overnight payment 度夜資”; that was where the term *changsān* (two three, or long three) derived from. The name remained the same even though the price has changed with time.¹⁸ Originally, those *changsān jinü* were not able to offer as good musical entertainment as *shuyu jinü*. Because of the competitive nature of business in Shanghai, a lot of *changsān* sought to improve their singing skills, and gave culture to the interior design of their residence by imitating *shuyu*, so that their value and status would be raised, and a wider range of visitors be attracted.¹⁹ By the end of the nineteenth century, *changsān*’s accommodation was generally called

¹⁷ Gail Hershat, *Dangerous Pleasures*, p. 43; Xue Liyong, “Ming Qing shiqi de Shanghai changji 明清時期的上海娼妓” (Prostitution in Shanghai during the Ming and Qing period), in Shanghai shi wenshiguan ed., *Jiu Shanghai de yan du chang* 舊上海的煙賭娼 (Opium, gambling and prostitution in old Shanghai), Shanghai: Baijia chubanshe, 1988, p. 150~158.

¹⁸ Gail Hershat, *Dangerous Pleasures*, p. 43.

¹⁹ Chi Zhicheng 池志澂 (1854~1937), *Huyou mengying* 滬游夢影, published in about 1893, reprinted in Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1989, p.157, 158.

shuyu; there was no longer a distinct difference between the status of *shuyu jinü* and *changsān*.

Next in the hierarchy are *ersan* 二三 and *yaoer* 么二, also named for dominoes ("two-three" and "one-two" respectively).²⁰ Unlike *shuyu jinü* or *changsān*, these women were not good at poetry, music or social skills, their sexual service was not as expensive as *changsān* courtesans.

The fourth type is native Cantonese courtesans. Among them, women who offered themselves mainly to Western sailors and merchants in Shanghai were called *xianshuimei* 鹹水妹 (maid of salty water), and those for Chinese guests were called *laoju* 老舉 (old conduct).²¹

Combining forces to meet the imperatives of their new urban surroundings, immigrants to Shanghai formed native-place associations *tongxianghui* 同鄉會, *huiguan* 會館 and *gongsuo* 公所; courtesans who had come to Shanghai from the same hometown also tended to flock together. So there were groups of courtesans from Suzhou (gathered in Fuzhou Road 福州路, English settlement), Yangzhou (in Old North Gate 老北門, now the junction of Henan Mid-Road 河南中路 and Renmin Road 人民路, French Concession), Guangdong (in Yangjing Bridge 洋涇橋, now Yan'an East-Road 延安東路, near the Bund), Japan (in Hongkou 虹口, now near Daming Road 大名路) and Western countries (firstly in Hongkou 虹口, later on moved to Er Yangjing Bridge 二洋

²⁰ Gail Hershatter, "The Hierarchy of Shanghai Prostitution, 1870~1949", pp. 469. As quoted, the fee was one *yuan* for providing melon seeds and fruits (called dry and wet basin), and two more for drinking companionship in the early republican era. See Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, p. 44 and p. 424, note 71.

²¹ Ge Yuanxu 葛元煦, *Huyou zaji* 滬游雜記, 1876; reprinted in Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1968, chapter 2, p. 26

涇橋, now Sichuan Mid-Road 四川中路).²² In general, a patron of brothels would go for someone who spoke the same dialect or language, played familiar native music and shared similar customs. Therefore, the popularity of each courtesan group depended on the social status and population of immigrant-patrons from the same native place and the cultural impact they brought into Shanghai. Among all, Suzhou immigrants were in the leading position in many professions, so the native Suzhou *shuyu jinü* and *changsan* who could recite poems and play music held the highest reputation and were most expensive and popular.

In the past, story-telling performances were given by men. The Shanghai audience preferred singing to talking, so the quick-minded Suzhou courtesan Zhu Sulan 朱素蘭 transformed the traditional story-telling into a more musical entertainment and employed courtesans to become singsong girls in her entertainment establishment “Yeshe lou 也是樓” at the junction of Fuzhou Road 福州路 and Shandong Road 山東路 in 1875, creating a new fashion of entertainment (Fig. 67). Normally two or more singsong girls would play *pipa* 琵琶, *sanxian* 三弦 and *erhu* 二胡 and sing stories adopted from the popular novels to the tune of *erhuang* 二簧 of Beijing opera or Jiangnan *tanci* 彈詞 music.²³ The *shuyu jinü* and *changsan* who performed as singsong girls 女唱書 here had more chance to be seen by the general public and to attract patrons. Stimulated by the success of Yeshe lou 也是樓, other old houses in Sima Road were quickly refurbished and transformed into

²² Chi Zhicheng 池志澂 (1854~1937), *Huyou mengying* 滬游夢影, published in about 1893, reprinted in Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1989, p. 163; Gail Hershtatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, p. 36, 37.

²³ Li Boyuan, “Shuchang 書場”, *Haishang youxi tushuo*, Shanghai, 1898, chapter 4, p. 25.

performing-tea-pavilions, so by the end of the 1870s, about twelve pavilions were providing entertainment day and night in Sima Road. The back lanes of the Sima Road 四馬路 (now Fuzhou Road, Fig. 77) became the central lodging for *shuyu jinü* and *changsān* to accommodate guests who sought pleasure in music, poetry, wine and sex after seeing the performances.²⁴

On account of its vigorous business and geographical advantage, Sima Road became the busiest street in the English settlement (Fig. 78).²⁵ It had also formed a cultural centre, comparable to the Yu Garden of the native city, where literati and modern-day intellectuals met their fellows, and artists displayed their work in the fan-shops next door to the pleasure pavilions (Fig. 79).²⁶

At that time, enjoying music, poetry, and drinks with *shuyu jinü* or *changsān* became a common social activity for the immigrants of the rich, gentry and intellectual class. Once Wang Tao offered an interesting story about the affair between one of his literati friends and a courtesan:

When Yao Xie 姚燮 (1805~1864) composed a
painting "Confession Concerning Love & Sex 懺綺圖"

²⁴ Langyouzi 浪遊子, *Haishang yanhua suoji* 海上煙花瑣記, Shanghai, 1877, chapter 4, p. 12; Chi Zhicheng 池志澂 (1854~1937), *Huyou mengying* 滬游夢影, published in about 1893, reprinted in Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1989, p. 157.

²⁵ Chi Zhicheng 池志澂, *Huyou mengying* 滬游夢影, published in about 1893, reprinted in Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1989, p. 156.

²⁶ In 1876, the fan shops were crowded in the Yu Garden in the old city and the area to the left of the foreign graveyard in the French concession, see Ge Yuanxu, *Huyou zaji* 滬游雜記, vol.2, chapter 2, p. 15; and by 1898, the fan shops in the foreign settlements had been moved to Erma Road and Sima Road. See Li Boyuan, *Haishang youxi tushuo* 海上遊戲圖說 (Illustrated Guide for Pleasure Seeking in Shanghai), Shanghai, 1898, chapter 4, p. 11.

(Fig. 80), he asked Hu Gongshou 胡公壽 (1823~1886) to inscribe a poem for the painting. Hu thought about it for a long time but could not get any good idea. Hu then asked Li Renshu 李壬叔 (Li Shanlan 李善蘭, 1810~1882) for help. Li took the opportunity to make fun of Hu Gongshou, he replied that he would only write the poem if Cai Yunqing 蔡韻卿 (a well-known courtesan favoured by Hu) held the ink-stone for him while he was writing the poem. When this arrangement was made, Li was happy to do the promised work. Cai Yunqing also played music for the literatus and made everyone happy.²⁷

The story suggests the engagement between literary play and the women of the pleasure establishments. Cai Yunqing, who was capable of playing chess and music, might belong to the class of *shuyu jinü* or *changsān*. In the story, Hu Gongshou obviously was a frequent patron of Cai Yunqing, and his friends Li Renshu and Wang Tao knew about this affair so they made fun of him. Yao Xie composed a painting on the subject of sexual intercourse, perhaps based on one of his own affairs with someone in the brothel, since Yao was notorious for his weakness for courtesans.²⁸ None of them tried to deny their patronage to the entertainment relating to music and sexuality. Moreover, they were all good friends of Ren Bonian, and Hu Gongshou was even Ren Bonian's teacher and life-long close friend, who was the first to introduce Ren Bonian to the art

²⁷ Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi*, Shanghai, 1871, chapter 5, p.8.

²⁸ Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi*, chapter 4, p. 10

circle and patrons in Shanghai. Besides the people mentioned above, we also found a number of patrons and owners of Shanghai's entertainment and pleasure enterprises were Ren Bonian's customers and good friends.²⁹

C. Overlapping Patronage

— Ren Bonian's Customers and Pleasure Quarter Patrons

Ren Bonian's customers consisted of several groups, mainly officials, intellectuals and merchants from Canton 廣東, South of Fujian 閩南 and Jiangnan 江南.

Among the officials, Jiang Shinong 姜石農, Wu Dacheng 吳大澂 (1835~1902) and Tang Jingchang 湯經常 have patronised the painter, and Zhu Xiaozang 朱孝臧 (1857~1931, Fig. 82) inscribed an appreciating poem on Ren's work. The gentry and merchant class of Jiangnan, such as Zhang Jingfu 章敬夫 (1848~1915) and Yan Xinhou 嚴信厚 (1828~1906) were loyal commissioners.³⁰

²⁹ Yao Xie, a native Suzhou painter and art connoisseur, was a patron of Ren Bonian and accommodated him during Ren's stay in Suzhou. Hu Gongshou was a well-known artist with good connections with the Money Association 錢業公會, a publishing house, political reform radicals and Japan.

³⁰ Several sources disagree with each other on the dates of Yan Xinhou's birth and death. Here I adopt the dates in Ding Weng 丁翁, "Yan Xinhou zhuan 嚴信厚傳" (Biography of Yan Xinhou), *Shanghai zongshang hui yuebao* 上海總商會月報, 1922, no. 2, vol. 3; and Shen Yuwu 沈雨梧, "Yan Xinhou 嚴信厚", *Qingdai renmu zhuangao* 清代人物傳稿, Liaoning: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1990, vol. 6-2, p. 456~460. Sources for Yan Xinhou's life are provided in Shen Yuwu 沈雨梧, "Yan Xinhou 嚴信厚", *Qingdai renmu zhuangao* 清代人物傳稿, Liaoning: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1990, vol. 6-2, p. 456~460; *Minguo renwu da*

Zhang Jingfu, also known as Jingfu 敬甫 and Qinglong duonong 青龍慵農, was a native of Huating 華亭, Zhejiang. Through the introduction of Hu Gongshou who was from the same place, Zhang Jingfu made good friends with Ren Bonian and patronised him since the early 1870s. The painter visited Zhang quite frequently and painted a picture of Zhang's residence "Qingyin caotang 清蔭草堂" (The Thatched Hut of Soothing Shade) in 1884 with Hu Gongshou narrating their friendship.³¹ Ren Bonian composed pictures mostly on the historical narratives of ideal leadership and moral principles, such as "The Five Morals 五倫圖" (1880, Zhang Chengwang collection) and "Emperor Taizong of the Tang Judging Calligraphy 唐太宗評字圖" (1880, Zhang Chengwang collection) which in fact were meant to satirize the contemporary corrupt politics and degenerate society at Zhang Jingfu's request. The source suggests that the choice of Ren Bonian's subject-matter was often subject to the patron's personal liking and culture when a commission was placed.

Contradicted to Zhang Jingfu's seemingly restrained character, Yan Xinhou 嚴信厚 was an aggressive, interesting figure among Ren Bonian's patron-friends. Yan Xinhou, originally named Jingbang 經邦, self-styled Xiaofang 小舫, Xiaofang 筱舫, Xiaochanglu guanzhu 小長蘆館主 and Fuchun shanmin 富春山民, was born in Cixi 慈谿 in Zhejiang Province. He first earned his living as an apprentice in a banking house in Ningpo, but was

cidian 民國人物大辭典, Hebei: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1991, p.1664; *Zhongguo jinxindai renming da cidian* 中國近現代人名大辭典, Beijing: Zhongguo guoji guangbo chubanshe, 1989, p. 284; Yang Yi, *Haishang molin*, chapter 3, p. 28, list 517.

³¹ According to Zhang Chengwang 章誠望, the son of Zhang Jingfu, it was very difficult to obtain a picture from Ren Bonian. For example, Zhang Jingfu had to wait three years for the painting "Five Morals" (1880, collection of Zhang Chengwang, Nanjing) to be composed. See Ding Xiyuan's interview with Zhang Chengwang in *Mingjia hanmo* 名家翰墨, no. 27, 1992, p.77.

dismissed on account of his too good appetite for food. He then moved to Shanghai and worked in Baocheng Jeweller's Shop 寶成銀樓 near the Little East Gate 小東門. In the early 1870s, Yan made acquaintance with the disputatious, notorious, wealthy Hangzhou Red-Hat-Merchant 紅頂商人 — Hu Guangyong 胡光墉 (Xueyan 雪岩, 1823~1885), and earned Hu's attention by presenting him with a circular fan painting composed by Yan himself as a gift. Therefore, Hu recommended Yan Xinhou to work for General Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823~1901) whom he assisted by working on weapon transportation and provisions for the military. Since then, good luck attended Yan Xinhou. He had an official title, and sat in a money earning position as a comprador of the salt business that made him a millionaire. Later on, he invested in the cotton, textile, flour, paper and porcelain industries, hospitals, piped water and insurance companies, and banks. By the turn of the century in 1904, Yan had established the first commercial association in China, the Shanghai shangye zonghui 上海商業總會 (Association of Shanghai Commerce) to protect Chinese businessmen's interests in the international trade. Besides business, he was also an active member of the Siming gongsuo 四明公所 (Association of Natives of the Ningpo Area) and other charitable organisations.

Yan Xinhou was talented in calligraphy and interested in painting and antiques. The friendship between Yan and Ren must have been established soon after their arrival in Shanghai. Yan wrote in a colophon (Fig. 84, 1873) on the "Portrait of Ge Zhonghua 葛仲華像" (Fig. 185) that Ren Bonian had painted a portrait of Yan Xinhou in fisherman's dress before 1873. As Ren Bonian only painted portraits for his intimate friends, this painting confirmed

their friendship. Their connections lasted until the painter's late years. It is without doubt that Ren continued to compose paintings at Yan's request after Yan became renowned. On the "Loquats and Pheasant 枇杷雉雞" (Fig. 85, 1886), Ren Bonian clearly mentioned that Yan Xinhou ordered this painting, he wrote: "Brother Xiaofang *xiansheng* has elegantly ordered this. Please comment. 小舫仁兄先生大雅之屬,即是就正". Both loquats and the rare type of fattened fowl were considered as expensive delicacies for the Chinese, Yan's choice of subjects might recall our memory in association with his early reputation of having too great a craving for food. Besides, the local name for loquat is "Gold Fruit 黃金果", businessmen would prefer to have loquats painted and hung on the wall for their auspicious name suggestive of wealth.

Yan Xinhou, as a successful merchant, may inevitably have been involved in the pleasure pavilions with female companions on social occasions. Accordingly, Yan Xinhou and Wang Zhen 王震 (1867~1938), the student of Ren Bonian, had a close connection with a "poet courtesan" (*shiji* 詩妓), Li Pingxiang 李蘋香 (Fig. 83). The first time when Yan met Li Pingxiang, he was so impressed by her beauty and elegance that he could not take his eyes off her. No longer able to hold himself back, he immediately presented a calligraphy scroll to her, it reads: "Only when (we) meet face to face will I have no regret 見面方無憾". Li Pingxiang also wrote "The fixed gaze seems affectionate 凝眸似有情" in response.³² With the support of a

³² This poem is cited in Xie Liyong, *Shanghai jinü shi* 上海妓女史, Hong Kong: Haifeng chubanshe, 1996, p. 394. For a reliable biography of Li Pingxiang, see Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, p. 153~156. Other earlier writings on Li Pingxiang including Qixia Danru 棲霞澹如 (ed.), *Haishang huaying lu* 海上花影錄 (Record of Shanghai courtesans), Shanghai, 1915; revised version, Shanghai: Zhongguo tushuguan, 1917, vol. 2, p. 32; Wu Jianren, *Wo foshanren biji* 我佛山人筆記 (Brief sketches by a man of Foshan), Shanghai:

customer, Li Pingxiang finally got out of prostitution in the early twentieth century. She renamed herself Xie Wenyi 謝文漪, and set up the Tianyunge Painting Studio 天韻閣畫室 (Heavenly Charm Chamber Painting Studio; also known as Xie Wenyi Painting Studio) which was the first painting studio headed by a professional female artist in Shanghai.³³ Several literati and artists, including Wang Zhen, Yan Xinhou, Meng Yuesheng and Li Yunshu were among her customers and admirers of her painting and calligraphy. Li Pingxiang's story suggests the intensive interaction between the courtesans and members of the artistic circle.

Apart from those who patronised the music and sexuality, some of Ren Bonian's customers were owners of important entertainment establishments in Shanghai. At that time, there were several famous private gardens, namely Zhangyuan 張園, Xuyuan 徐園 and Yuyuan 愚園 in the foreign settlements, and Yuyuan 豫園 and Xiyuan 西園 in the old city providing places for public events, for people to meet, to enjoy opera, music, food, painting and other delights.

Xuyuan 徐園 (Xu Garden), also called Shuangqing Villa 雙清別墅, was established by the silk merchant Xu Hongkui 徐鴻逵 (self-styled Lishang 隸山, native of Haining 海寧, Zhejiang Province) in 1883. Xu Garden was originally located at Tangjianong 唐家弄 in Zhabei 閘北 (now North Fujian

Dada tushu gongyishe, 1935, p. 101~102; Wang, Liaoweng, *Shanghai liushinian huajieshi* 上海六十年花界史 (A sixty-year history of the Shanghai flower world), Shanghai: Shixin shuju, 1922, p. 61; Zhang, Xunjiu, *Shanghai lishi yanyi* 上海歷史演義 (Historical romance of Shanghai), Shanghai: Danan shuju, 1934, vol. 2, p. 74; Chen Dingshan, *Chunshen jiuwen* 春申舊聞, Taipei: Chenguang yuekan she, 1967, volume 2, p. 102~104.

³³ On Li Pingxiang's establishment of her painting studio, see Gail Hersatter, *Dangerous Pleasures*, p. 156.

Road 福建北路), and removed to Kangnaotuo Road 康瑙脫路 (now Kangding Road 康定路).³⁴ For the owner's love for art, music and social life, the elegant, archaic design of the garden earned most appreciation from the literati visitors. Artists, musicians and opera singers were often invited to gather in the central hall or to play on a stage outdoors. On the twenty-fifth day of the first month of the year *jichou* 己丑 (1889), Shanghai artists were invited by the host Xu Hongkui to meet and compose work there. During the meeting, Ren Bonian improvised a painting with speedy, blunt brushwork in *pomo* style 潑墨 (ink splash), the "Cat on Rock 貓石圖" (Fig. 86, 1889) to mark this occasion and to honour the host.

Ren Bonian also had the personal contact with the owner of Yuyuan 愚園, as seen in the inscription in "Birds and Magnolia Tree" (Fig. 87, 1893), Ren wrote: "The early fifth month, summer of *guisi*, Guangxu (1893). To the elegant owner of Yu Garden, please comment. Ren Bonian *fu*, Shanyin. 光緒癸巳夏五月上浣, 愚園主人雅正。山陰任伯年甫". Established in the late 1870s on Hede Road 赫德路 (now Changde Road 常德路) on the east of the Jing'an Temple 靜安寺, the garden was renamed Yuyuan by the new owner, a Ningpo merchant in 1890.³⁵ The garden was divided into two parts, the east part was occupied by a theatrical stage, the conventional centre of the Western style, ponds, tea house and Chinese pavilions; the west part had the floral garden, a small zoo and glasshouse (Figs. 88, 89). As it was open to the general public, people liked to indulge their leisure time in music, story-telling

³⁴ Li Boyuan, "Xujia huayuan 徐家花園" (The Xu Family Garden), *Haishang youxi tushuo* 海上遊戲圖說, Shanghai, 1898, chapter 4, p.1.

³⁵ Li Boyuan, "Xujia huayuan 徐家花園" (The Xu Family Garden), *Haishang youxi tushuo* 海上遊戲圖說, Shanghai, 1898, chapter 4, p.2. Li only mentioned that the owner is from a merchant from Ningpo whose surname is Zhang 張.

and drama, or talk on business here, preferably accompanied, if they could afford them, by courtesans who can flatter the heart and please the eye. The Garden also organised special facilities, entertainment or lectures to attract more visitors. Such as the *danzi fang* 彈子房 (a billiard saloon) which attracted a number of curious visitors. Interestingly Shanghai courtesans were among the first people skilled in playing billiards in China (Fig. 90).

The female musicians and courtesans liked to enjoy their gatherings and fashion contests in the Yu Garden and Zhang Garden in the daytime. Four renowned courtesans, Lu Lanfen 陸蘭芬, Lin Daiyu 林黛玉, Jin Xiaobao 金小寶 and Zhang Shuyu 張書玉, would come to Zhang Garden every day since the late 1880s. They used to sit at the most eye-catching place nearest to the entrance of the tea pavilion, just like the Four Guardian Kings in the entrance of Buddhist temples. Therefore, they earned the nickname “sida jingang 四大金剛” (the four Vajrapani, Fig. 91).³⁶

While private gardens had been well established in the past, it was at that time to have them open to the public. Since 1868, when Waitan Park 外灘公園 was settled in the foreign settlement near the bund, several parks were established, such as Hongkou Park 虹口公園, Fuxing Park 復興公園 and Zhaofeng Park 兆豐公園 in Shanghai. In the case of Waitan Park, from its early days until 1881 the park was desolated to Chinese people, except when in the company of a Westerner.³⁷ Besides the “public” park, Chinese were also

³⁶ Haishang sushisheng 海上漱石生, “Tianxiangge yunshi 天香閣韻事, *Tuixinglu biji* 退醒廬筆記, p. 32.

³⁷ Robert A. Bickers and Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, “Shanghai’s ‘Dogs and Chinese Not Admitted’ Sign: Legend, History and Contemporary Symbol”, *The China Quarterly*, no. 142, June 1995, pp. 444~466.

excluded from most of the other modern entertainment establishments, such as the racecourse and clubs in the foreign settlements. During the 1870s and 80s, the Chinese voiced sharp criticisms of such discrimination in the newspaper.³⁸ So the government of the foreign settlement finally opened Huaren Park 華人民園 (Chinese Park) to calm the protest. The Chinese were not content with the small size and the poor facilities of this park. Thus, the idea of having proper social places for everyone might have been motivated under such conditions.³⁹ Generally the cost was one *jiao* 一角 for the entrance fee and two *jiao* 兩角 for tea in these gardens.⁴⁰ Each group of the society had its own preferred gardens:

Xiyuan, the nest of heavenly pleasure for students;
Xuyuan, the nest of heavenly pleasure for celebrated
scholars; Yuyuan and Zhangyuan, the nests for burglars
and courtesans. Sometimes for weddings, sometimes for
funeral ceremonies, sometimes for welcoming, and
sometimes for parting banquets, poor Shanghai only had
these few proper places for conventional purposes.

西園，學生之天樂窩也；徐園，名士之天樂窩也；愚
園、張園，豪客、妓女之天樂窩也。忽而結婚，忽而
悼死，忽而歡迎，忽而餞別，可憐上海適用地，僅此

³⁸ "Lun gongjia huayuan 論公家花園" (Discourse of public gardens), *Shen Bao* 申報, 1888.9.21.

³⁹ Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之, "Zhangyuan yu wan Qing Shanghai shehui 張園與晚清上海社會", no page number given, published in the website:
<http://www.historyshanghai.com/shanghai/file/xuanzai/artic/005.htm>.

⁴⁰ "Zhaidi yuanlin 宅第園林" (Houses and Gardens), *Shanghai xian xuzhi* 上海縣續志, chapter 27.

而已。⁴¹

However, although the number of these private gardens open to Chinese was small, the pleasure one could find in the gardens and other places was magnificent. One contemporary writer stated:

The prosperity of Shanghai is greater than other places in the world. None of the wanderers in Shanghai but is a dreamer; none of those places is not a dreamland. Therefore, the red lanterns and green wine [the scene of debauchery] is illusion; the carts flowing like a stream and the horses moving like a dragon [the heavy traffic] all is somnambulism. Zhang Garden and Yu Garden, theatres and story-telling pavilions, all were enticing people into a dream world.

海上繁華，甲于天下，人之游海上者，其人无一非梦中人，其境无一非梦中境。是故灯紅酒綠，一梦幻也；車水馬龍，一夢游也；張園愚園，戲館書館，一引人入夢之地也。⁴²

The gardens played an important part in Shanghai social life; they also presented the vain, dreamy atmosphere that characterised the reputation of Shanghai.

Considering the function and pleasure these gardens provided to these

⁴¹ Sao Xin 騷心, "Shanghai zhi baimian guan 上海之百面觀" (Viewing the Hundred Faces of Shanghai), *Minli Bao* 民立報, 1910.12.27.

⁴² Sun Jiazhen 孫家振, *Haishang funhua meng* 海上繁華夢, preface, p. 1.

urban women and men under such a special circumstance, the subject of Ren Bonian's painting might be suggestive of the actual scenes that the painter had observed in his social life. Such as the picture of a lady playing *xiao* 簫 alone outdoors that Ren Bonian has composed repeatedly, recalling the story of Nongyu 弄玉, a celebrated courtesan whose wonderful playing of the *xiao* attracted the phoenix (Fig. 92, 1870). Since the phoenix is a metaphor for a man with a bright future, it is possible that Ren Bonian borrowed the historical subject and gave it a new context, that through the playing of music and by exposing themselves in the gardens and public establishments, these Shanghai courtesans would attract rich admirers and men with a bright future, just as Nongyu was able to attract the phoenix. Compared with the pictures of the same subject by previous artist, such as that by Ren Xiong (Fig. 93), whose tidy female figure is almost absorbed in the background, in contrast, the image of the figure in Ren Bonian's painting very much occupies the whole space and seems to stand out deliberately to attract the viewer. It is quite amusing to think: while the phoenix was looking at the female figure from the background, who was viewing this renowned courtesan from the front?

If we compare some of Ren Bonian's lady figures with Wu Youru's *Haishang baimei tu* 海上百美图 (One hundred beauties of Shanghai, Fig. 94) which was a collection of various views of the courtesan's life, we would find some familiar elements. For instance, when Ren's lady figure walks along the paved path in a garden with her maid behind her who carries a pile of books (Fig. 95, 1888), the composition would cause our curiosity: if they were supposed to have a relaxing walk in Nature, why should the maid carry such a heavy pile of books? In Wu Youru's painting (Fig. 96), Wu illustrated piles of

Wu Youru's
Haishang Baimei Tu
X

books beside the *shuyu jinü* so as to indicate the name of her residence *shuyu* 書寓, the book dwelling. Ren Bonian too might also deliberately have drawn the books to suggest the sensitive role of the lady in front. While the wide-open neckband of the figure's costume would definitely tickle the fancy, perhaps the addition of the symbolic books would evoke additional sensual thoughts, especially to Ren's audience who knew how to interpret the hint.

Apart from the patrons from the foreign settlement, Ren Bonian also had connections with people in the old town. At that time, famous painters often received commissions from successful enterprises, such as Hu Gongshou who was supported by the Money Association 錢業公會. Ren Bonian was also patronised by the Cotton and Sugar Association 花糖工會 of merchants from the south of Fujian Province 閩南. In 1888, Ren Bonian painted a large picture "Examining a Knife Under the Shade of a Tree 樹蔭觀刀" (Fig. 99, 1888) for the Guest Hall of Dianchun tang 點春堂賓日閣 in the Yu Garden 豫園 (Fig. 100). This garden served as a meeting point for Fujian merchants, it offered tea for selected guests, accommodation and workshop space for painters, and a summer residence for musicians.⁴³ It is possible that through the support of Fujian merchants, Ren Bonian was able to gain a wider range of merchant customers from the southern province.

Ren's painting is said to have been particularly popular among Cantonese merchant collectors. The story of Ren Bonian being chased by an enthusiastic Cantonese commissioner all the way from the street right to the painter's home has already been noted above.⁴⁴ Jingchen 精臣, whose

⁴³ Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi*, Shanghai, 1871, chapter 1, p. 6 and chapter 2, p. 13

⁴⁴ See p. 67, fn. 22

surname is unknown, may have been another enthusiastic Cantonese collector. Apparently, Jingchen was a native of Jieyang 揭陽 in Guangdong Province 廣東 who ran a sugar business between Shanghai and Guangdong in the late nineteenth century.⁴⁵ Although not much is known about his personal life, in a colophon of “Resting in the Autumn Forest” (1887, Hong Kong Art Gallery) Jingchen is described by the son of Zhong Dexiang 鍾德祥, as an enthusiastic patron of Ren Bonian. Zhong Dexiang, native of Yongning 永寧, Guangxi 廣西, received his *jinshi* 進士 title in 1876 and began to serve in the local government. For failing in the attempt to impeach Li Hongzhang 李鴻章, he lost his official job and escaped to Shanghai.⁴⁶ Zhong Dexiang, himself a patron and friend of Ren Bonian, often wrote inscriptions on Ren Bonian’s paintings as we found today, especially on those commissioned by Jingchen and people from the southern provinces.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ This information was originally provided by Liu Zuochou 劉作籌, the previous owner and the donor of the Xubaizhai 虛白齋 collection in the Hong Kong Art Gallery 香港藝術館. Here I am indebted to Lai Yu-Chih’s research, please see “Zaixian bianjiang —Ren Bonian de biansaihua yu shijiu shijimo de Shanghai chengshi shenghuo 再現邊疆 —一任伯年的邊塞畫與十九世紀末的上海城市生活” (Representing the Borderland —Ren Bonian’s depictions of frontier scenes and of urban life in late nineteenth-century Shanghai), *Studies on Shanghai School Painting*, Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 2001, p.812~813.

⁴⁶ For the biography of Zhong Dexiang please see Fei Xingjian’s 費行簡 “jindai mingren xiaozhuan 近代名人小傳”, collected in Zhou Junfu’s 周駿富 *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊, Taipei: Mingwen chubanshe, 1985, vol. 202, p. 486~487; Yang Yi, *Haishang molin* 海上墨林, chapter 3, p. 27, list 506. In Yang Yi’s *Haishang molin*, Zhong is mistakenly said to be a native of Guangdong.

⁴⁷ For instance, Ren’s four hanging scrolls on the subject of people herding, meditating, canoeing and writing calligraphy in Nature were dedicated to Jingchen and inscribed by Zhong Dexiang (dated 1888, formerly collected by Tan Tsze-Chor 陳之初, Singapore)

D. Story of the Story

Among Ren Bonian's customers, a bunch of modern writers and newspaper editors was mostly keen on building relationships with women of the pleasure pavilions. Writers such as Wang Tao 王韜 (1828~1897), Yuan Zuzhi 袁祖志 (1827~1902), Huang Shiquan 黃式權 (1853~1924), Ge Qilong 葛其龍, Cai Erkang 蔡爾康 (1858~1923), Qian Xibo 錢昕伯, He Guisheng 何桂笙, Yu Da 俞達 (?~1884), Han Bangqing 韓邦慶 (1856~1894) and Zheng Wenzhuo 鄭文焯 (1856~1918) frequently published novels, guides for pleasure finding and poems in dedication to their favourite women or to memorialise their romantic episodes in the newspaper. Since 1869, literati began to list "huabang 花榜" (a publicly posted roll of popular courtesans) according to the order of the courtesans' charms and gifts. The famous courtesan Li Sansan 李三三 who was awarded the second prize in the 1882 examination was indebted to the strong support she received from Yuan Zuzhi 袁祖志. Through Yuan's affectionate poem first published in *Shen Bao*, it inspired more than eighty poems by others dedicated to Li Sansan.⁴⁸ Thus Li Sansan's name was soon widely spread. Yuan Zuzhi 袁祖志, known as Xiangfu 祥甫, Xiangfu 翔甫, Youcang 又倉 and Cangshan jiuzhu 倉山舊主, was a grandson of the renowned Qing scholar Yuan Mei 袁枚, and a keen contributor to *Shen Bao*, *Xinwen Bao* 新聞報 and *Youxi Bao* 遊戲報. His connection with Ren Bonian is seen in Ren's painting "Carrying a *Qin* to Visit My Friend 攜琴訪友" (1883, Fig. 103,

⁴⁸ This affair is recorded in "Li Sansan 李三三", *Chunjiang huashi guan* 春江花史卷, ed. Zou Tao 鄒弢 (Liangxi xiaoxiang guan shizhe 梁溪瀟湘館侍者), Shanghai, 1884, chapter 1, p. 6~7; and *Haishang qunfang pu* 海上群芳譜, ed. Xiaolantian chanqing shizhe 小藍田懺情侍者, Shanghai, 1886, chapter 1, p. 7~8. In this record, the author mentioned that the literati dedicated 60 poems in total to Li Sansan, a number smaller than Zou Tao's account of 80 poems.

104) commissioned by Yuan. In this painting, the male figure is walking leisurely in the open air, the instrument *qin* indicates the musical and literary quality of its owner.

While many of Ren Bonian's friends were frequent visitors to the brothels, we do not know whether Ren himself met any courtesan he particularly favoured and how frequently he went to the pleasure quarters. Nevertheless, in a picture of 1874, the painter wrote: "*Yuanxiao* of the year of *jiayu*, by candlelight [I] wrote this in the Fairy House of Crowded Flowers. 甲戌元宵秉燭寫於叢花仙館" (1874, Fig. 101, 102,). As "flowers" is a euphemism for courtesans, the "Fairy House of Crowded Flowers" suggests the residence of courtesans. This inscription might hint that Ren Bonian possibly celebrated the Lantern Festival until late at night in the pleasure quarters with his friends. Under the gaze of his fellows, and perhaps with courtesans holding up candles for him, the young painter proudly presented his special technique, which was to imitate Chen Hongshou's style without having an original copy at hand to trace. Thus, Ren Bonian continued to inscribe in this painting: "people who saw this thought I have already comprehended [the spirit of Chen Hongshou]! 鑒者以爲有所得也!".

"In Shanghai", said Wang Tao, "as people with elegant, sophisticated bearing appreciate someone who shares a similar quality, the beauties and celebrated scholars also exchange wine cups and poetry. There is no single day that they do not have a refined gathering. 滬上亦風流相尚，美人名士文酒流連，殆無日無雅會也。"⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi*, chapter 5, p. 6.

A fine example showing the relationship between the painter, inscriber and Cantonese patron is a painting entitled "Three Chivalrous Travellers" (1887, Fig. 105~107).⁵⁰ In the right panel of the picture, three figures dressed in winter costume are seated on the ground forming a small triangular space, and two horses and a donkey standing side by side in the other half of the painting. On the upper part, Ren Bonian's signature and dedication to Jingchen is on the left, and Zhong Dexiong inscribed on the right:

(In pictures on the themes of) Zhaojun crossing the frontier⁵¹ and Wenji returning to the Han,⁵² Chinese ladies are all dressed in the felt garments worn by the nomad people in the north. Is it infatuation with the foreign culture, or because of the weather? For this I lament.

昭君出塞，文姬返漢，皆以中國女子爲北方氈裘之裝，
爲異俗所移，亦氣候致然耶？爲之嘆息。

Zhong Dexiang's lament raised by the female figure's clothing reminds us of

⁵⁰ Ren Bonian did not provide a title, but the scene of two horses, one black donkey and three identical figures is very likely taken from the story of "Qiranke zhuan 虬髯客傳" (The man with the curly beard), not that of Wenji or Zhaojun.

⁵¹ Wang Qiang 王嬙, known as Zhaojun, a lady of the Han court, who was later married to a northern tribe in the performance of matrimonial diplomacy.

⁵² Cai Yan 蔡琰, normally known as the poet Lady Wenji 文姬, was the wife of Dong Si 董祀 and the daughter of Cai Yong 蔡邕 of the Three Kingdoms Period. She was taken by force to Huns during the war in 195 and later saved by Cao Cao 曹操, who eventually sent her back to China after twelve years and re-married her to Dong Si. Such a frontier story of Lady Wenji's life has been a favourite subject in Chinese narrative painting. The earliest example is the four album leaves "Lady Wenji Returning to China" (incomplete version) collected in the Boston Museum of Fine Art; a complete copy with eighteen texts and illustrations has been preserved in the Metropolitan Museum, New York; and another handscroll with the same eighteen scenes is in the collection of Yamato Bunkakan Museum in Nara, Japan. See Wu Tung, *Masterpieces of Chinese Painting from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Tang through Yuan Dynasties*, Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1996, plate 12~15; for an introduction of the New York handscroll and translation of the songs see Robert A. Rorex and Wen C. Fong, *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974.

the annotations by other contemporaries. The contemporary writer Yuan Zuzhi 袁祖志 (1827~1902) once cast his severe criticism on people's love for fur and expensive garments owing to the vulgar atmosphere in Shanghai. People were ashamed of not having expensive fur for clothing but not of their poor intelligence; women became sexual slaves for money out of vanity for their appearance.⁵³ In addition to Yuan's criticism, Li Boyuan also commented that the contemporary fashion: men wearing boots and wide sleeves of the northern style in Shanghai, were brought by the Beijing opera singers; and that women's fashion was led by Shanghai courtesans and singsong girls.⁵⁴ In this painting, the male figure on the right happened to wear the fashionable winter dress for travellers: boots, a garment with wide sleeves and a fur-neckband. For the lady figure, the fur ornament is quite similar to *diaofue* 貂覆額⁵⁵, a type of head ornament commonly used by glamorous women in the winter for comfort and decoration especially in the Jiangnan area. Under the fur ornament, we see a black band, which might be the *zhemeile* 遮眉勒 (or *lezi* 勒子) used by women to fix the hair above the forehead. The fur-coat with the pointed collar might be an imitation after Western coat. Such a style was popular among Shanghai courtesans in Ren Bonian's time.⁵⁶

⁵³ Yuan Zuzhi 袁祖志, "Cangshan jiuzhu shu Shenjiang louxi 倉山舊主書申江陋習", collected in Li Boyuan, *Haishang youxi tushuo* 海上遊戲圖說 (Illustrated Guide for Pleasure Seeking in Shanghai), 1898, chapter 2, p. 13.

⁵⁴ Li Boyuan, *Haishang youxi tushuo* 海上遊戲圖說, chapter 3, p. 17; chapter 4, p. 7; also see Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi*, chapter 1, p. 7.

⁵⁵ Zhou Xun & Gao Chun Ming, *Zhongguo lidai funu zhuangshi* 中國歷代婦女妝飾 (Ornament of Chinese women from centuries), Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1988, p. 112 and figure 3.20.

⁵⁶ Huang Nengfu & Gao Juanjuan, *Zhongguo fuzhuangshi* 中國服裝史 (History of Chinese

The foreign settlements in Shanghai were often referred to derogatively as *yichang* 夷場 (barbarian-ground) by the native Chinese. Ren Bonian repeatedly composed “Su Wu Herding Sheep” and inscribed on one of these paintings (which is now lost): “Situated in the ten-*li* foreign field is not different from being situated in a strange land 置身十里洋場，無異身於異域”.⁵⁷ It perhaps bears a deeper meaning, since the literary patrons often compared the stories of Wang Zhaojun and Cai Wenji married to the northern barbarian tribes with the tragic fate of Shanghai courtesans, especially with those who were from good families but who had lost all the support after the civil wars. In order to make a living, they became *shuyu jinü*, *changsang*, or even *yaoer* in the foreign settlements of Shanghai.⁵⁸

If we locate this picture “Three Chivalrous Travellers” in the context of contemporary Shanghai, we see how Cantonese *xianshuimei* 鹹水妹 moved from the warm, humid southern country to the foreign settlement, where they encountered the Western stimuli, experienced understanding difficulties (through differences in dialect and culture) and much colder weather in a highly competitive environment. Living on their seductive charm and pleading, perhaps with Western sailors, a *xianshuimei*’s fate in Shanghai would be reminiscent of that of Cai Wenji or Wang Zhaojun who were sent off to the

Costume), Beijing: Zhongguo luyou chubanshe, 1995, p. 366 and p. 371.

⁵⁷ For example there was an article “Discourse of Barbarism 辯夷論” debating whether using the terms “barbarian and barbarian land” to describe foreigners and the foreign settlement was proper, published in *Shen Bao* (1873.11.21).

⁵⁸ For instance, the contemporary Shanghai *changsang jinü* Hua Sibao 花四寶 was compared to Cai Wenji for their unlucky fate in the biography of “Hua Sibao 花四寶”, *Haishang huayinglu* 海上花影錄, ed. Qi Xia 棲霞 & Danru 澹如, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1915, vol.2, no page number given; and Wang Tao also compared other prostitutes to Cai Wenji, see *Yingruan zazhi*, chapter 6, p. 2.

northern barbarian, foreign land to serve the foreigners. Then both Zhong Dexiang's lament and Ren Bonian's choice of subject would seem quite sympathetic to as well as critical of their time.

Ren Bonian composed at least twelve pictures in various formats on the historical theme of the "Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠" since early on in his career. The theme of the "Three Travellers" is based on the *chuanqi* 傳奇 "Qiuranke zhuan 虬髯客傳" (The man with the curly beard) of the Tang, in which the heroic young figure Li Jing 李靖 received the tremendous admiration from the maid Hongfuji 紅拂妓 (Red duster maid) who recognized his talent shortly after their first encounter and decided to leave her powerful, ruthless master, Yang Su, for Li Jing. While Hongfuji and Li Jing had a break during their journey to escape from her previous master, they met Qiuranke 虬髯客 (The man with the curly beard) and turned him from an enemy into a friend. The bearded stranger then gave away all his property to assist Li Jing to establish the Tang Dynasty under the conduct of Li Yuan 李淵 (566~635, Emperor Gaozong 高宗) and Li Shimin 李世民 (599~649, Emperor Taizong 太宗). Li Jing had also fulfilled his political ideas and became a successful top general of the Tang.⁵⁹

Most of Ren Bonian's pictures on this subject depicted the scene of the

⁵⁹ "The man with the curly beard" was originally written by Du Guangting 杜光庭, and collected in *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, Li Fang 李昉 ed., Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1995, vol. 4, chapter 193, p. 1445. The plot was also adopted in several plays, such as *Hongfu sanzhuàn* 紅拂三傳 by Ning Mengchu 凌濛初 (Ming Dynasty); *Hongfu ji* 紅拂記 by Zhang Yi 張鳳翼 (Ming Dynasty); *Nüzhangfu* 女丈夫 by Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (Ming Dynasty); *Hongfu ji* 紅拂記 by Zhang Taihe 張太和 (Ming Dynasty), and so on. An English translation of the story is given in Cyril Birch (ed.), *Anthology of Chinese Literature, from Early Times to the Fourteenth Century*, New York: Grove Press Inc., 1965, p. 314~322.

first meeting between Li Jing, Hongfuji and Qiuranke. The earliest extant work was composed during Ren Bonian's guest stay at Siming Eryu Caotang 四明二雨草堂 (Thatched House of Two Rains in Ningpo) hosted by Chen Yan'an 陳延庵 (Poxiang 波香) in Ningpo 寧波 in 1867 (Fig. 108). In this picture, Li Jing is startled to see the unexpected stranger Qiuranke who approaches toward the window and unashamedly stares at Li's female companion as she combs her hair. This presentation of the story is traditional and showed similarity to model paintings Ren had learned at an early age. For example, Fei Danxu's painting on the same subject (Fig. 109, undated) depicted the same part of the plot and suggested an ongoing tension of the drama through the figures' gesture and detailed settings. Ren Bonian's brushwork at that time still carried an affinity to Chen Hongshou and Ren Xiong's angular brush mode.

In the early 1880s, Ren Bonian constantly revisited this subject. However, he no longer depicted the narrative in detail. In the 1880 (Fig. 110) and the 1882 paintings (Fig. 111), the painter drew their parting scene instead of the first dramatic encounter depicted in his early work. In the 1880 and 1882 pictures, the large trunk of the tree divides the picture into two triangular spaces. In one part of the foreground, Qiuranke is about to depart. He rides on his black donkey and turns his head round to the two new friends. Partly hidden behind the tree, the couple Hongfuji with an almost motionless expression and Li Jing with a look of self-confidence, both fold their hands and nod to their leaving patron-friend. During this period, a blunter, freehand and innovative brushwork had been introduced into Ren's work. The figure of Qiuranke in particular was drawn in layers of colour wash without any outline.

This new application of boneless style into figure painting was inherited from the technique that had been long used in the traditional flower-and-bird painting. It is also worth noting that the costumes worn by Hongfuji in both pictures again echo Ren's contemporary fashion of lady ornament. In the 1880 version, Hongfuji wore the *zhemeile* 遮眉勒 (Fig. 112), an embroidered band above her forehead. The use of such a head ornament is illustrated in Wu Youru's drawing on *shuyu jinü* and contemporary photographs (Figs. 113, 115) and ladies with property or glamorous courtesans would decorate the band with jewels (Fig. 114).⁶⁰ In the 1882 picture, the fur ornament worn by Hongfuji resembles that worn in the painting "Three Chivalrous Travellers" (1887) discussed before.

Later in 1887, Ren Bonian's painting on the same subject ignores all the background setting, and concentrates on depicting the three figures in their new relationship (Fig. 116, 1887).⁶¹ Although it is a depiction of the same parting scene, the three figures have been placed close together in the centre of the picture, in which Qiuranke sits on his black donkey and turns his head towards Li Jing, who with Hongfuji stands closely behind their patron-friend. The position of the three figures suggests a stronger interaction between the

⁶⁰ Zhou Xun & Gao Chunming, *Zhongguo lidai funu zhuangshi* 中國歷代婦女妝飾, Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1988, p. 112 and Fig. 3.19.

⁶¹ Existing paintings of the 1880s on the "Three Chivalrous Travellers" mainly depicted the parting scene instead of their first meeting. The only exception I find so far is a picture dated 1886 (Fig. 117, collection unknown), see *Ren Bonian renwu huafeng* 任伯年人物畫風, Sichuan: Chongqing chubanshe, 1997, plate 6, which I think is rather questionable. The brushwork is too detailed and cautious for Ren's late date. The calligraphy of the signature is a bit too careful as well. Besides, Ren Bonian normally would not apply opaque white on the facial features of his male figure, such as Li Jing's forehead and nose to give him a rather doll-like look. Unfortunately, the seals are too small for me to identify in this small reproduction.

characters, it also arouses a new sentiment that departs from the traditional representation of the original story. Hongfuji here is again wearing a fur head-ornament, and a winter coat, which could be identified as “*yikouzhong* — 口鐘” of the contemporary fashion among courtesans of Ren’s time. The outer part of this expensive costume is normally made of silk and the inner part made of fur and leather.⁶² Qiuranke’s expensive fur-cap also indicates his wealth and the great capability of patronage, while Li Jing who wears the most ordinary and inexpensive clothes of all three, bends his body low and shows a tremendous humbleness and seriousness to Qiuranke as if he knew that his future success would depend very much on the financial support of this important patron. This parting scene indeed marks the beginning of Li Jing’s assured, promising future.

From the description of this historical figure of Li Jing (Fig. 118~120), who first appeared annoyed, then remained self-proud, and at last became a humble man bowing low to his patron, the constant transformation of the same subject in Ren Bonian’s images is indeed fascinating, especially if it implies an underlying change of ideology.

In the original story, Li Jing appeared as the most lucky figure in all ways: for his intelligence and bravery have first earned him a beautiful companion, the financial support from a rich sponsor, the chance to work for the future emperor, finally the great success of his life and an honourable name in History. The story of Li Jing’s life presents an almost ideal vision of the Chinese intellectual: the best of his luck is not just the assured talent he carried, but also

⁶² Huang Nengfu & Chen Juanjuan, *Zhongguo fuzhuang shi* 中國服裝史, Beijing: Zhongguo luyou chubanshe, 1995, p.378 and 382.

that his value has “been recognised”.

No matter whether it was out of Ren Bonian's personal liking or his clients' demand, this particularly favoured subject might indicate some interest and eagerness among Ren's customers who were intellectual migrants. Many of them were furnished with learning and self-valuation, and for once they had tried to make a life in politics through the national examination in their hometown. The value of learning has been highly emphasised for centuries, as Emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (968~1022) of the Northern Song once described:

To enrich your family, no need to buy good land:

Books hold a thousand measures of grain.

For an easy life, no need to build a mansion:

In books are found houses of gold.

Going out, be not vexed at absence of followers:

In books, carriages and horses form a crown.

Marrying, be not vexed by the lack of a good
go-between”

In books, there are girls with faces of jade.

A boy who wants to become a somebody

Devotes himself to the classics, faces the window, and
reads.

— Song Emperor Zhenzong⁶³

⁶³ Translation adopted from Wendy Larson, “Autobiographies of the Late Qing Dynasty and Political Implication”, *Literary Authority and the Modern Chinese writer (Ambivalence and Autobiography)*, Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1991, p. 31

Through writing and learning, these individuals were engaged in traditional documents that had also captured and shaped them for centuries.

However, the politics was so corrupt that this golden saying by a previous Confucian emperor seems to have become a sour irony to the ear of the late Qing scholars. Ren Bonian's friends who had once pursued traditional learning and the official life, included Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 who had been very disappointed by the scandalous, bureaucratic governmental system and who had resigned from his position as a Mayor of Andong County 安東縣令 after only three months⁶⁴; Yang Xian 楊峴 (1819~1896), who was deprived from his official title because of his strong integrity against his scandalous boss. Yang later on became a recluse in Suzhou and sarcastically named himself Miaoweng 藐翁 (an old man who despises everything).⁶⁵

While the status and significance of the Confucian society that was closely attached to learning and the examination system were ever more strongly challenged by the unstable circumstances, the *bagu* 八股 writing style distanced the academic examination system ever further from reality and practical matters. Thus the intellectuals' arrival in Shanghai with its foreign settlements was not only driven by the domestic wars in their native towns and the growing wealth in Shanghai, but mostly by the tempting expectation of the opportunities that a big city could provide: the chance of being discovered,

⁶⁴ Wu Changshuo's self-inscription on "Portrait of the Poverty-Stricken Military Official 酸寒尉像" (Portrait of Wu Changshuo, 1888), now collected in Zhejiang Provincial Museum

⁶⁵ Lu Hui 陸恢(1851~1920) provides a clear account on Yang Xian's brief official life and his straightforward character in the colophon on "Portrait of Yang Xian" painted by Ren Bonian on the ninth month of 1887. This painting is in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing.

then to be useful and successful in different ways.

Qian Xinbo 錢昕伯, Cai Erkang 蔡爾康 and He Guisheng 何桂笙, all of whom had ceased to seek a political life, had turned to sell their literary talents by editing newspapers patronised by Westerners and merchant-class investors. The traditional role of the intellectual had changed. Writing was a business. To have their work published was a way for intellectual immigrants to earn fortune and fame, and to have strong patronage to back them up was an essential key to "becoming somebody". Therefore, when we turn our gaze on Ren's painting in which Li Jing was bending humbly to his well-dressed patron, Ren Bonian seems to be bitterly mocking his contemporaries.

On the other hand, through the centuries, whenever Confucian moral pursuits could not be practised, the intellectuals would tend to identify themselves with the lost poets in exile who indulged themselves in the pleasure quarters. To record vain and romantic affairs became another strong, spectacular trend distinct from the moral pursuit and chivalry theme in the Shanghai literature of the late Qing.⁶⁶ Yao Xie 姚燮 (1805~1864, known as Meibo 梅伯, Fuzhuang 復莊), has first composed 108 *ci* 詞 (a verse form) describing the world of carnal pleasure in *Kuhaihang yuefu* 苦海航樂府 (Musical Verses of Sailing in the Bitter Ocean, preface dated 1855). Yao Xie was a native Suzhou artist from an elite scholarly background and his family constantly patronised Ren Bonian.⁶⁷ At the age of 30, Yao Xie received the

⁶⁶ See *Qinglou wenxue yu Zhongguo wenhua* 青樓文學與中國文化 (*Brothel Literature and Chinese Culture*), Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 1993, p. 216~219; *Zhongguo jindai wenxue shi* 中國近代文學史 (*Modern Chinese Literature*), ed. Ren Fangqiu, Luoyang: University of Henan Press, 1988, p.127~130, 143~149.

⁶⁷ Yao family and Ren Bonian had had a connection since Ren's early career. The earliest

title of *juren* 舉人 (a successful candidate in the provincial examination), but never succeeded in the imperial examinations. He sold paintings in Shanghai until the end of his life, and spent most of his spare money on brothel visiting.⁶⁸ After Yao Xie's literary expression, several publications have been written on the same subject by a certain group of scholar immigrants who regarded themselves as modern men of letters. Along with Wang Tao's occult and mysterious stories based on his ventures in sexuality and comments on his acquaintance with courtesans in his *Songyin manlu* 淞隱漫錄 (Casual writing on the reconciled life in Shanghai, published by *Shenbao guan* 申報館, 1844), there came *Qinglou meng* 青樓夢 (Dream of the Green Chamber, by Yu Da 俞達, preface dated 1878), *Haishanghua liezhuan* 海上花列傳 (Sing-song girls of Shanghai, by Han Bangqing 韓邦慶, 1892), *Haishang chentian ying* 海上塵天影 (Dust and shadow in the sky of Shanghai, by Zou Tao 鄒弢), *Haishang fanhua meng* 海上繁華夢 (Vanity dream of Shanghai, by Sun Yusheng 孫玉聲) which regenerated a peculiar trend of *xiaxie xiaoshuo* 狹邪小說 (novels of sexual indulgence) in Shanghai literature.⁶⁹ It is worth noting that most authors of these *xiaxie xiaoshuo* 狹邪小說 were from a particular circle of intellectual-immigrants that Ren Bonian was quite familiar with.

Yu Da 俞達 (?~1884), also known as Lifeng muzhen shanren 麓峰慕真山

example is the picture dated 1866 "Xiaojiang hua bie tu 小江話別圖" (Parting at Xiaojia River) Ren dedicated to Yao Xiaofu 姚小復, the son of Yao Xie. In 1892, Ren did a portrait for Yao Xiaofu, which showed their strong friendship since Ren only painted portraits for intimates.

⁶⁸ *Shanghai jindai wenxueshi* 上海近代文學史 (History of the Modern Literature in Shanghai), ed. Chen Bohai 陳伯海 & Yuan Jin 袁進, Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1993, p. 210~211.

⁶⁹ *Zhongguo jindai wenxueshi* 中國近代文學史 (History of Modern Chinese Literature), ed. Ren Fangqiu 任訪秋, Luoyang: University of Henan Press, 1988, p. 143~149.

人, Zongjun 宗駿 and Yinxiang 吟香, the author of *Qinglou meng*, is found to have a connection with Ren Bonian through a silk fan painting dedicated to him by the painter.⁷⁰ Yu Da penetrated his dream of an ideal life through the story of the main character who was born in a rich elite family, and who in his early years refused to take part in the national examination. Later on he not only became a honourable governor, but also a filial son, a reliable friend, a good father, and a wonderful husband of five wives chosen from his thirty-six beautiful courtesan-intimates. The story presents a perfect example of pursuing both moral and poetic, joyful life-style, which is actually in sharp contradiction to the author's real life. As Yu Da lamented in the beginning of the first chapter:

When the world changes like a flowing stream, who will
keep me company? How surprising it is that the poor
Confucian scholar has talent but no opportunity to use it!
None of the ministers or high officials know me; they are
not like the women in the brothels whose wise eyes
would certainly recognise a hero when he was not yet
successful.

當世滔滔,斯人誰與?竟使一介寒儒懷才不遇!公卿大
夫,竟無一識我之人,反不若青樓女子,竟有慧眼識
英雄於未遇時也。⁷¹

⁷⁰ Ren Bonian dedicated a painting of flowers to Yu Da in 1887, now in the collection of the Tianjin Art Gallery.

⁷¹ Yu Da, *Qinglou meng* 青樓夢 (Dream of the Green Chamber, preface dated 1878), chapter 1, p.1

Through the beautified affairs between the brothel visitor and prostitutes, the novel showed sympathy for the sorrowful fate of these falling courtesans and undiscovered intellectuals who carried on struggling as immigrants in Shanghai. He also thought that the courtesans were the only people who knew his true value.

Whereas at the same time, other contemporary writers tried to preserve the self-esteem of men of letters and transmitted it into their addresses to the courtesan. Some praised courtesans whose courageous behaviour in getting rid of her powerful yet ruthless master is like the bravery that Hongfuji once possessed;⁷² and the other poet uttered his unrequited longing: "I wish Hongfu could be reborn so as to fall in love with me 望紅拂再生鍾情於我".⁷³ Like a self-consolation, if the intellectual immigrant could not be as fortunate as Li Jing, since his scholarly values were not acknowledged by the powerful; at least, the softness and music provided by those pleasure establishments would cheer up his frustrated heart, if possible, perhaps a woman like Hongfuji would appear, who would discard her other rich admirers for him, recognising his quality as a man of letters at her first glance.

E. Travellers of Both Genders

Whilst morality and sympathy have made their way into the Shanghai immigrants' seemingly playful works that touch on the subject of sex, a

⁷² "Xu Yuzhen 徐玉珍", *Haishang qunfang pu* 海上群芳譜, chapter 3, p. 18.

⁷³ *Haishang youxi tushuo* 海上遊戲圖說, chapter 2, p.23.

sentiment of solitude that belonged to travellers also flowed quietly from their literary blood to ink. In the field of painting, since the early 1880s', Ren Bonian frequently composed pictures on the theme "Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly 關河一望蕭索". Four of these were painted in the year of 1885 alone: they are collected in Nanjing Museum (Fig. 121, 1885), Beijing Palace Museum (Fig. 126, 1885), Suzhou wenwu shangdian 蘇州文物商店 (no photo available) and in an unknown collection (Fig. 127, 1885). It is worth noting that apart from the Nanjing picture, the images of Fig. 72 and Fig. 73 share a strong affinity in composition. However, the image of a male traveller standing on the border looking at the sky as presented in the Nanjing picture appeared a number of times in Ren Bonian's works dated in different years. For example, the 1890 version held privately in Tokyo (Fig. 123) and an undated picture collected in Beijing Palace Museum (Fig. 122) show similarities in composition: accompanied by his horse, a thoughtful man looks at the distant landscape from a desolate cliff. This image is reminiscent of Hua Yan's "Reining in a Horse at the Border 關山勒馬" (Fig. 124, Shanghai Museum), on which we were surprised to find a collector's seal "Shanyin Ren shi zhencang 山陰任氏珍藏" (Fig. 125, seal in relief characters). Although this is the only seal we have seen so far of Ren Bonian as a collector, considering the similarities between the paintings of the two painters and Ren Bonian's well-known appreciation of Hua Yan's art, it is probable that Ren Bonian once owned this hanging scroll by Hua Yan and that he frequently composed paintings inspired by the work.

Several contemporary scholars have vaguely suggested that this type of painting of a warrior looking at the desolate land mainly reflect Ren Bonian's

What about 郭紹昌's
article: '國恥之痛...' 沈從文與周作人
patriotism for China in the time of turmoil he had lived through.⁷⁴ Ren 沈從文 pp. 809-10

Bonian's depictions of a lonely traveller in a border scene and looking
solemnly at the desolate landscape, particularly those painted in 1885, as other
scholars suggested, seem to be an easy proof of the painter's sympathy for the
Chinese side when they lost to the French in the warfare that occurred in the
same year.⁷⁵ However, if we view his subject carefully, we shall find that Ren

Bonian actually painted figures of both genders in these four pictures dated
1885. Beside the Nanjing picture, which might have been inspired by Hua
Yan's work, the remaining pictures (Fig. 126, Beijing Palace Museum, 1885;
Fig. 127, collection unknown, 1885) each depicted a female figure with small
bound feet, wearing a fur hat and leaning upon a horse in the lonely wintry
landscape. The composition and iconography in these images are very similar
to the female figures in Ren's other paintings of the same subject dated 1882
(Fig. 128), 1883 (Fig. 129) and in one of the twelve leaves of female portraits
dated 1888 (Fig. 130). If such paintings, as suggested by modern scholars,
were only to reflect Ren Bonian's patriotic mind, why did Ren Bonian adopt a
female figure? Could we have a more insightful gaze at Ren Bonian's world

⁷⁴ Wang Jingxian, *Ren Bonian huaji* 任伯年畫集, vol. 1, p. 60; Zhang Anzhi, "'Guanhe yiwang xiaosuo' yu 'Guandao tu' yanjiu" 關河一望蕭索與'觀刀圖'研究, *Meishujia* 美術家, no. 7, 1979, p. 2~7.

⁷⁵ Lai Yu-Chih, for example, has suggested this point of view in her study, see "Zaixian bianjiang —Ren Bonian de biansaihua yu shijiu shijimo de Shanghai chengshi shenghuo 再現邊疆 —任伯年的邊塞畫與十九世紀末的上海城市生活" (Representing the Borderland —Ren Bonian's depictions of frontier scenes and of urban life in late nineteenth-century Shanghai), *Studies on Shanghai School Painting*, Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 2001, p. 809~810. She literally took Ren's painting of this subject as a way to show sympathy for the Chinese after losing the Sino-French War (1885), therefore the figure in Ren's painting would look sad at the solemn land. I don't quite agree with this view, as such subject of a figure looking at distant land had appeared before the Sino-French War, and Ren's composition was indebted to a painting by Hua Yan (Shanghai Museum) that was in Ren Bonian's own collection.

through this subject?

The title “Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly 關河一望蕭索” is adopted from the verse *Qiuyuguan* 曲玉管 by Liu Yong 柳永 (984?~1053?), the whole poem reads:

Qiuyuguan

Clouds fly above the mountains of Gansu,
The sun sinks to the edge of the riverbank,
[I] have been looking at the mist-covered waters and
leaning upon the railing for a long time.
While standing here, I look at the deserted country,
Where thousands of *li* are occupied by chill autumn.
By holding myself back, I could fix my eyes on the scene.
Distant is the holy capital, [where lives]
My graceful fairy-lady,
Since our parting, the embroidered poem is hard to reach
after all.
The heartbreaking swallows did not bring me your
message,
But gradually flying low to cross a shoal.
My thought is meditative and sad.
Musing the past,
There were so many secret pleasures and nice gatherings,
Would we know that meeting and parting often happened
beyond our expectation?

[Now those memories] turn into regretful rains and
distressing clouds.
Pursuit of play is stopped.
Each time [I] climb the mountain or face the water,
Something weighing on my mind throughout life would
be provoked.
[My happiness] dies out and my mood becomes gloomy,
No word is uttered for the whole day,
Therefore, I descend the stairs.

曲玉管

隴首雲飛，江邊日晚，煙波滿目憑闌久。立望關河蕭
索，千里清秋。忍凝眸。杳杳神京，盈盈仙子，別來
錦字終難偶。斷雁無憑，冉冉飛下汀洲。思悠悠。暗
想當初，有多少幽歡佳會，豈知聚散難期，翻成雨恨
雲愁。阻追游。每登山臨水，惹起平生心事，一場消
黯，永日無言，卻下層樓。⁷⁶

According to Liu Yong's original context, the poem described a man missing
his charming *xianzi* 仙子 (fairy, a term which is often an euphemism for

⁷⁶ *Tang Song ci jianshang jicheng* 唐宋詞鑑賞集成, ed. Tang Guizheng 唐圭璋, Beijing: Guji chubanshe, 1987, p. 203. The term "embroidered poem" is based on the story of Dou Tao 竇韜 and Su Hui 蘇蕙 recorded in *Jin Shu* 晉書. When Dou Tao was in exile, his wife sent him a very sad poem embroidered on a piece of silk, so the "embroidered poem" is to suggest a letter to the writer's husband or lover (male). See *Tang Song ci jianshang jicheng* 唐宋詞鑑賞集成, p. 204.

courtesan) while they were apart and the mail being interrupted, his current view of the deserted autumn country therefore strengthened his sorrowful thoughts for the past and being alone in the foreign place became even more unbearable. The context of the verse is actually more about the lovesick sentiment of a forlorn traveller on his lonely journey, rather than referring directly to national patriotism.⁷⁷ Apart from the gender of the main character, Ren Bonian's painting has illustrated all the ingredients for Liu Yong's verse: the horse indicates the journey; the figure has a thoughtful, lonely expression because of the parting; the figure's costume suggests the chilly weather; and the empty background indicates a desolate, solitary atmosphere. "Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly 關河一望蕭索", wrote Ren Bonian on one of the 1885 paintings, "...I have deep feelings for this [subject] therefore I often paint it 有感於斯，常繪其圖".⁷⁸ What were the feelings he mentioned here? Were they not the nostalgia, lovesickness, thoughts of self-pity and melancholy prompted by the immigrant-life of Ren Bonian and his friends of both genders?

In 1879, the painter presented a poem with a topic "An improvisation on returning to my hometown 還鄉口號" in *Shen Bao*.⁷⁹ It reads with a tone of sorrow,

⁷⁷ Liu Yong is also known as Sanbian 三變 and Qiqing 耆卿. While Liu Yong was a candidate for the imperial examination, he used to be a frequent patron of brothels and talented in writing songs on the sentiments of parting and lonesome journeys. The suggestion of *xianzi* 仙子 being an euphemism for courtesans is provided in *Tang Song ci jianshang jicheng* 唐宋詞鑑賞集成, ed. Tang Guizheng 唐圭璋, Beijing: Guji chubanshe, 1987, p. 203~205.

On the biography of Liu Yong in English, see *Song Without Music — Chinese Tz'u Poetry*, ed. Stephen C. Soong, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1980, p. 58~59.

⁷⁸ This painting is dated 1885 (Fig. 73, collection unknown), Published in Wang Jingxian, *Ren Bonian huaji* 任伯年畫集, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, volume 2, p. 227

⁷⁹ *Shen Bao*, 1879.2.20 (30th day of the first month, *jimao* 己卯 year). It is the only inscription we ever find by Ren Bonian in *Shen Bao*.

My thoughts on going home after the chaos are
scattered,

Dragon Mountain is still the same, a horizontal range
planted with many rocks.

The red balustrade and jade willow of the old place are
also still there,

I can only hear the autumn wind and sobbing of the
evening cicada.

Ren Yi, Bonian of Shanyin provided this manuscript.

亂後歸來意惘然，龍山橫臥石田田；
赤欄碧柳舊時處，惟聽秋風咽暮蟬。
山陰任頤伯年甫稿

Perhaps “The autumn wind and sobbing of the evening cicada” might best explain Ren’s pictures of the “Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly 關河一望蕭索” inspired by Liu Yong’s verse and that was to present clearly the painter’s eager urge to return home. If the direction of Ren’s lament is clear, his intention of painting the female image yet remains perplexing.

The image of female figure in male warrior’s dress is traditionally associated to Hua Mulan 花木蘭, who has been regarded as *jinguo yingxiong* 巾幗英雄 (the female hero) for her gallantry and filial piety.⁸⁰ However in

⁸⁰ Hua Mulan was a famous heroine of the Liang Dynasty (A.D. 502~556). When her father was summoned to serve as a soldier in the wars, and was unable to obey the order for his

the playful work by Ren Bonian's fellow friends, courtesans were constantly compared to Hua Mulan or praised as the female heroines, who were capable of citing poems, composing paintings, drinking as much wine as men did or playing swords so well.⁸¹ It was also a fashion among Shanghai courtesans to dress up like men, as seen in the photographs, in which courtesans wore handsome male costume and a hat to envelop the long hair and fringe (Fig. 131).⁸² Moreover, some courtesans' flower-name is Hua Mulan as we found in the advertising board in the green house street (Fig. 132, 133).

While in the contemporary literature, Ren Bonian's novelist friend Han Bangqing 韓邦慶 (1856~1894), described in his *Haishanghua liezhuan* 海上花列傳 (Sing-song girls of Shanghai, 1892) a dream of himself walking on a sea covered all over with flowers, when the man woke up he found himself on the Lu Stone Bridge that separated the Chinese district and the foreign settlement in Shanghai. As noted above (p. 149) "flowers" refer to courtesans, while Shanghai 上海 means "on-the-sea", so the floating flowers are euphemism for rootless, immigrant courtesans who were powerless to decide their own fates.⁸³ Through the courtesans' story in the colonised society,

illness, Hua Mulan put on a soldier's clothes and took her father's place in the army for years. She won praise for her bravery in the battles and her filial piety, ever since she has been regarded as the ideal of daughterly devotion and feminine courage. The poem of Hua Mulan's biography first appeared in the form of *yuefu* 樂府, Han Dynasty; English translation see *Chinese Poems*, translated by Charles Budd, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912, p. 124~129.

⁸¹ *Haishang qunfang pu*, Shanghai 海上群芳譜, 1884~1886, p. 68 and 82.

⁸² The author gave a clear account of the changing style of courtesans dress through 30 years in "Jinü zhi zhuangshi 妓女之裝飾" (Costume of courtesans), *Shanghai youlan zhinan* 上海遊覽指南 (Travel Guide for Shanghai), Shanghai, 1919, chapter 12, p. 36.

⁸³ Ren Bonian had dedicated a painting "Hunting Scene 秋郊圖" to Han Bangqing in 1879 (Wenzhou City Museum, Zhejiang 浙江省溫州市博物館), in which Ren painted one figure shooting with a rifle and the other watching. The painter's inscription reads: "The auspicious

Han's sentiment exposed his self-sympathy as an intellectual immigrant. Would it be possible that Ren Bonian also expressed his feelings through Liu Yong's verse, the historical icon of the female hero and the contemporary image of an immigrant courtesan in the foreign settlement? Since talent, commercialisation and social skill were highly demanded of a professional painter, Ren Bonian often had to find a compromise between self-esteem and commercially oriented patronage, and between traditional literati practice and fashionable approaches in painting. Would not the insecure circumstances of courtesans, whose popularity very much depended on their charm, musical talent, and social skills, remind Ren Bonian of his own life, and that of his contemporary audiences who shared similar experience and grievous feelings, and who understood the codes hidden in these images of well-known historical subjects?

F. Old Bottles and New Wine

We might wonder to what extent the contemporary culture, fashion and social

day, year of *jimao* of *Guangxu*, in response to the elegant order by the benevolent brother Ziyuan. Bonian Ren Yi recorded at the east window of the Hall of Graceful Sound. 光緒己卯吉日應子雲仁兄大人雅屬，伯年任頤並記於雅鳴館之東牖。 So far, we have not found what "Hall of Graceful Sound" is, according to the name, it seems likely to be a pleasure quarter which offered singing and musical entertainment. Perhaps the painter composed the picture for Han while having a gathering in a pleasure quarter. Hang Bangqing, self-styled Ziyun 子雲 and Taixian 太仙, pen-name Hua ye lian nong 花也憐儂, was a native of Lou County 婁縣 in Songjiang Prefecture 松江, Jiangsu Province. He lived in Shanghai and wrote poems in the company of friends who mostly worked for newspapers. He was an editor of *Shen Bao*. His biography is provided in *Zhongguo jindai wenxueshi* 中國近代文學史 (History of Modern Chinese Literature), ed. Ren Fangqiu 任訪秋, Henan: Daxuechubanshe, 1988, p. 147 and Stephen Cheng's "*Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* and Its Narrative Methods", *Chinese Middlebrow Fiction*, ed. Liu Ts'un-Yan, Seattle and London: The University of Washington Press, 1984, p. 111.

events were reflected in a painter's work. While we have tried to understand Ren's choice of subject-matter and his relations with his contemporary audience and world, Ren Bonian's sketches in fact provide comparatively clear proof of his observant mind and keen concerns of his surrounding world.

In response to the contemporary fashion of the rich taking courtesans for a ride in the expensive Western carriage for fun and showing off, in a sketch of an outing scene (Fig. 134, 1885) Ren sarcastically inscribed: "Recently the fragrant carts drawn by expensive horses race swiftly outside the west countryside. On a crude carriage led by an inferior horse, I also take my two sons for a pretended juvenile ride. [I] compose this painting to record it.

Bonian. 近日西郊外香車寶馬正馳驟，余也率二子柴車劣馬學個少年遊。作畫報之。伯年”。 Another inscription on his sketch (Fig. 135) of a woman

weaving showed Ren's deep sympathy for the reduced circumstances of local farmers and craftsmen, as Ren wrote: "[I] went into to the town yesterday and returned with tears wetting my clothes. [For I was sorry to see] the people

wearing garments of expensive silk are not those engaged in sericulture. 昨日入城市，歸來淚滿巾，遍身羅綺者，不是養蠶人”。 Besides, he also portrayed

the daily scene of ordinary people, for instance pictures of the two boys

herding buffaloes and setting crickets against each other (Fig. 136, 1887), the

elderly pedlars selling meat under the tree (Fig. 137, 1881), a passer-by with

his back to the viewer while he is peeing from the bridge (Fig. 138, 1889) and a

street acrobat carrying a monkey on her shoulder (Fig. 139, 1888) have

introduced to us what the painter had seen (Fig. 140) and his thoughts about his surroundings.

It is said that Ren Bonian liked to watch people while he stayed in Yu

Garden, that “the busy scene of the teahouse and the seductive charm of wandering women have all been pictured by his brush; hence his name was made loud. 茶樓之喧囂，游女之妖冶，乃盡入其筆而畫名乃噪”.⁸⁴ Although Ren Bonian was aware of his surroundings and loved to record images from life, in his painting he preferred to present his thoughts by suggestion, instead of exposing himself boldly through the fashionable, detailed lithographic illustrations of current affairs.

As seen in Ren’s last painting “Washing the Ear 洗耳圖” (1895, Beijing Palace Museum) which adopted the story of Xu You 許由 who rushed to wash his ear in the river immediately after rejecting the crown. Such a general historical subject composed in the year of 1895 when China shockingly lost to Japan in the Sino-Japanese War became very significant and satirical, as Gao Yong 高邕 (1850~1921) inscribed: “Nowadays [we] fear to hear any sad news of the current affair, even on his deathbed, [Bonian] still left us this ear washing picture. 近來怕聽傷時事，臨終還留洗耳圖”.

Other examples, which obviously showed Ren Bonian’s criticism, are more than fifty pictures of Zhong Kui. For instance an inscription on Yin Yuan’s copy of Ren Bonian’s “Zhong Kui Carrying His Sword 持劍鍾馗” (Fig. 141, 1878) reads: “Instead of painting Zhong Kui going to the court, [I] draw him making a sound by tapping on his sword while singing new poems. [For] the country is presently peaceful and well conducted, [we] do not need to trouble Master [Zhong Kui] to take in the evil spirits. 不繪鍾馗趨殿時，寫他彈鈹哦新詩。如今畿輔稱寧服，無勞先生吸魅魍”. Here the inscription

⁸⁴ Chen Dieye’s 陳蝶野 account, cited in Ding Xiyuan, *Ren Bonian nianpu* 任伯年年譜 (Chronology of Ren Bonian), Shanghai: Xinhua shudian, 1989, p. 25.

repent!
Fig. 52

suggested Ren's dissatisfaction with the politics of these scholarly governors who did not pay attention to the court but seeking literary play instead, while the Qing Empire was actually breaking down.

The other colophon provided by Wu Changshuo in the "Zhong Kui Killing A Fox 鍾馗斬狐圖" (Fig. 142, 1878) reads: "a fox could transform itself into a good lady. Yet, its magic skill of transformation would fail in front of the Old Kui [Zhong Kui]. Ha Ha [sound of laughter]! 狐能幻形爲好女子, 遇之老葵而遁形之技左矣, 呵呵!" Coincident with Wu's writing, Ren Bonian presents a speedy brushwork in the picture, in which Zhong Kui was in an action of cutting his object, a half transformed fox with a female face and human upper-body. While fox is often associated with the seductive, sexy women, by presenting a masculine force through Zhong Kui who places his right foot on the fox fairy's body, and the female face vividly expressing the moment of pain, would not this strong visual immediacy and the sensual subject excite Ren Bonian's male clients, especially these who loved the worldly pleasure in brothels (Fig. 143)?

Since the pleasure quarters in Shanghai played an important social role in Ren Bonian's time, the brothels were also places for intellectual immigrants to meet and to give vent to their sorrowful emotions. As Zou Tao, the author of the novel *Haishang chentian ying* 海上塵天影 (Dust and shadow in the sky of Shanghai) and several books touching on the subject of brothels and courtesans' lives, wrote in the opening of his *Chunjiang huashi* 春江花史 (History of Flowers of Spring River, 1885):

In the autumn of *xinsi* year [1881], I first came to

Shanghai to manage the editorial work for *Yi Bao Guan*.

With two or three intimate friends, we then made trips to brothels. To lead a life of debauchery we do not have a mind to win over [women's hearts], but to quench sorrow and dissipate our anxieties, like Fanchuan [Bai Juyi] of Jiangzhou who considered Green House as a place where one could weep bitterly.

辛巳秋，余始來滬上主益報館筆政，輒與二三知己作狹邪遊，酒地花天，本非有心爭逐，不過藉此消遣愁緒，如樊川江州輩以青樓爲痛哭場。⁸⁵

see c. 1901
article in
Tao Tao Lien
Dunce Faunel
eds. Unity & Dissip
1996

If visiting brothels was to present their true feeling and to “weep bitterly” for their dissatisfaction with the current society and personal circumstances, it reminds us that in Ren Bonian’s pictures the Xie An figure had never smiled while making merry in Mt. Dong with his concubines. “Since Anshi (Xie An) shares pleasure with others”, as recorded in *Jinshu* 晉書, “he would have to share the worry with others. He would have to come [to the court] as soon as he was called. 安石既與人同樂，必不得不與人同憂，召之必出。”⁸⁶ Perhaps the painter’s main intention was not to present just a joyful image, but to compare the uneasy frame of Ren Bonian’s fellow friends’ and Xie An’s minds when they concealed themselves in the City on-the-sea and the Dong Mountain. While waiting for the opportunity to serve, their burden of being intellectuals, their dissatisfaction with current circumstances, the sense of responsibility for the turbulent state of the country had to be hidden in the mean time behind the

⁸⁵ “Chen Yuqing 陳玉卿”, Zou Tao 鄒弢, *Chunjiang huashi* 春江花史, chapter 1, p.1.

⁸⁶ “Xie An zhuan 謝安傳” (Biography of Xie An), *Jin Shu* 晉書; cited in *Quan Song ci diangu kaoshi cidian* 全宋詞典故考釋辭典, Jin Fanghua ed., Jilin: Wenshi chubanshe, 1991, p. 391.

indulgence in female sexuality and musical pleasure. Through the idealised subject of Li Jing's life, Ren also penetrated such eagerness of his fellows. However, when scholarship became intensely mingled with commodity, it perhaps motivated Ren Bonian to paint Li Jing bending ever lower to his patron who supported him financially and made him somebody, and Hongfuji in Shanghai courtesan's dress since courtesans were the only people who identified the talent of men before they became successful just like Hongfuji recognised Li Jing. A woman with small feet in warrior dress showed Ren's sympathy for the rootless fate of courtesans. While they had to fight for a living in the foreign settlement as slaves of sexuality, does not it also reflect the self-compassion of Ren's own bounded circumstance and role as a "Slave of Painting 畫奴", and his keen wish to return home?

Being one of the most popular painters and the member of a special circle of modern-day-men in Shanghai before the turn of the century, Ren Bonian's work and subject-matter had connections with his current society and special quality to catch his contemporary audiences' eye and touch their heart. Since the majority of his clients and close companions were the intellectual and merchant immigrants, his figure painting thus sought to combine literary play and popular interests. Perhaps the selected icons from the famous historical and literary narratives were the best means to present his satire and sympathy in his paintings. Whether he was inspired by a desire to record a fast-changing world, or motivated by a demand for images of jocund scenes from patrons, Ren Bonian had recollected the traditional subject-matter in a new context, and given his images fresh meaning. The images of the three standard themes showed that Ren Bonian's brush recorded and criticised,

laughed and cried for what he has seen and felt. Perhaps like new wine in the old bottles, the fresh interpretation of Ren Bonian's historical painting offers a vivid flavour of the society of late nineteenth-century Shanghai.

V. FROM MUSTARD SEED GARDEN TO TUSHANWAN



V. FROM MUSTARD SEED GARDEN TO TUSHANWAN

A. Traditional Training in Ren Bonian's Portraiture

In China portraiture has been long an established genre, considered different from other categories of figure painting by virtue of realistic representation. A *xiao-xiang-hua* 肖像畫 (portrait) could be understood as a record of certain aspects of a person as seen by another. Whether his physical appearance, social position or spirit has been captured by artist is of little consequence, the underlying conception of portraiture as likeness in Chinese culture requires that a portrait should reveal some sense of the sitter's identity as a particular being.

Since the Song, apart from court portraits, commemorative and ancestor effigies, other modes of portraiture, for instance, emblematic portraits or portraits as event were fostered principally under the influence of the literati aesthetic, by the wish to enhance the figure's spirit, and to a much lesser extent by interest in realistic representation as such. Chinese portraiture continued to suffer this antagonism between lifelikeness and spiritual animation until modern times.¹

¹ Gu Kaizhi (c. 344–c.406) has long been celebrated as one of the great figure painters known for his insight into character and for his excellence in depicting particular physical details of his sitter. Gu's portrait formula is to emphasise the importance and value of conveying personality and spirit, rather than mere appearance. In the Song Dynasty, the literati critic Su Shi wrote: "If anyone discusses painting in terms of formal likeness, his understanding is close to that of a child 論畫以形似，見與兒童鄰" (Bush and Shih, p. 224-25). It shows Su's disparagement of actual representational painting and stiffly formal portraiture, and stresses the value he set on facial traits to convey mental states. Later Chinese painting theory, literati in particular, perpetuated this depreciation of formed portraiture, and consequently excluded portrait from the category of fine art. I would like to thank Professor D. Ledderose-Croissant for her suggestions on "representing the true appearance" as the

In the late imperial age in Shanghai, internal and external tensions were shaking the roots of traditional China. While the external tensions brought by the foreign connections and technology pushed the traditional boundaries of Chinese portraiture further, the choice between lifelikeness and spiritual animation was no longer the only concern. One of the most prolific painters in late Imperial China, Ren Bonian obviously reflected the shifts and conflicts of his time. Portraits occupy a special place in his oeuvre and their number and expressive range increased as did the emphasis on individualism, self-expression and preoccupation with anatomy.

This chapter firstly reviews the traditional aspect in Ren Bonian's portraits of his artist friends. We also consider the stimuli that Shanghai's foreign connections brought to Ren's work in matters of technique, aesthetics and consumption. The response of Chinese critics to contemporary social reform and Ren's role as artist in the city of Shanghai are studied.

1. Portraits for Fellow Artists

During his artistic life, Ren Bonian painted at least 78 portraits. His first portrayal work of Fang Qiaoling 方樵齡, now lost, appeared in 1866, and the "Portrait of Yao Xiaofu at his Age of Fifty-Four 姚小復五十四歲小像" of 1891 is his last extant work, completed solely by Ren Bonian's own hand. Since Ren's health waned from 1891 onward, he seldom took commissions for

function of portraiture and the conflicts of this genre in traditional literary thought. See D. L. Croissant, "Under the Spell of the Real: Portraiture and Photography in Early Modern Japan", *Challenging Past and Present: The Metamorphosis of Japanese Art in the Nineteenth Century*, Ellen P. Conant ed., University of Hawaii Press (forthcoming), pp. 5~12.

portraits, if one were required for a close friend, the painter would paint it with the help of his followers or other portrait experts. For example, "Portrait of Shi Jixian (wife of Wu Changshuo) 施季仙像" and "Portrait of Wu Changshuo Returning Home 吳昌碩歸田圖", both done in 1893, are co-authored pictures. In both portraits, Yin Yuan 尹沅 did the portrait and Ren Bonian the garment, background and inscription.²

In Huang Shiquan's 黃式權 *Songnan mengyinglu* 淞南夢影錄 (Record of dream images from *Songnan*, 1883), the writer spoke specifically of Ren Bonian's portrait skill. The passage reads:

Bonian is good at portraiture; he uses a "boneless" technique to differentiate and highlight the face and countenance. From a distance, his portraits radiate health and vitality as if alive. However, he keeps his skill secret; for those he does not know, he will not easily take up his brush. I once saw his painting "Longjiu jiuyin xiaoxiang"(Portrait of Ge Qilong), It was done in lively ink washes and the elegance (of the sitter) was fully revealed. Even someone seeing it for just a moment would immediately recognise him at a glance.³

伯年亦善寫照，用沒骨法分點眉目，遠視之奕奕如生。

² It might be possible that owing to Ren Bonian's growing fame and market demands, he ran a commercial painting studio. In works of his late years, we often find paintings with less skilled brushwork (some even carried identifiable styles that could be easily related his daughter Ren Xia, his students, Ni Tian, Li Fu and Yu Li). The sixth chapter will bring up more extent study on problems with attributions and Ren Bonian's studio.

³ Huang Shiquan's *Songnan mengyinglu* 淞南夢影錄 (Record of dream images from *Songnan*), 1883; reprinted Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1989, p.102~103.

惟自秘其技，非知己者不輕易揮毫。嘗見其圖「龍湫
舊隱小像」，淡墨淋漓，風采華露，雖僅有半面緣者，
一見即能辨認。

In the midst of this admiring passage is the intriguing remark, “However, he keeps his skill secret; for those he does not know, he will not easily take up his brush.” This comment recalls to memory the colophon on the “Portrait of Ren Songyun 任淞雲先生像” (1869) by Ren Jinshu 任堇叔. It said that Ren Bonian’s father was even “ashamed” of showing his *xiezhen* 寫真 talent to others, and only when there was a famine, did he begin to teach Ren Bonian the technique of making portraits for the sake of earning a living.⁴ That the majority of Chinese portraits are anonymous is symptomatic of the low status of portraiture as a painting genre over the course of centuries. Portraiture, which had been a significant mode of practice, if not the speciality of many of the highly regarded painters of the Tang and Five Dynasties period, gradually became the province of specialists and artisans, who received very little critical attention and whose names were often lost. Since portraiture was considered to be the realm of low-caste and anonymous artisans, perhaps that was the consideration of Ren Songyun for not showing his skill to others unless it became necessary; and as a professional artist, Ren Bonian may have wished to avoid being labelled as a mere portrait painter, by making his portraits highly exclusive and difficult to obtain.

Ren Bonian would paint for intimates, and most of the sitters are therefore

⁴ Colophon on the “Portrait of Ren Songyun 任淞雲先生像” by Ren Jinshu, collected in Palace Museum, Beijing.

identifiable to us. There are three portraits grounded in family relations: his father Ren Songyun 任淞雲 (1869), his grandparents-in-law Zhao Dechang and his wife 趙德昌夫婦 (1883), and his cousin Lu Shucheng 陸書成 (1884). Ren's own image is also displayed in several pictures, such as "Parting at Dongjin 東津話別"(1868), "Listening to the Rain 聽雨樓圖" (1877), "Portrait of Three Friends 三友圖" (1883) and "Talking about Old Days Under the Pine Tree 淮松話舊—Portrait for Chen Zizhen 陳子振" (1887). Apart from the portraits of members of his family, Ren Bonian rarely painted for people outside his artistic circle. In addition to two portraits to record the partings of Ren Bonian and his friends (Parting at Xiaojia River 小浹江話別圖, 1866; Parting at Dongjin 東津話別圖, 1868), there are forty-one pictures known to have been made for his artist friends (poets, painters, calligraphers) whose names are found in *Haishang molin* 海上墨林 (Ink forest of Shanghai) and other contemporary records on art. The artist sitters are Fang Qiaoling 方樵齡 (1866), Zhou Xian 周閑 (1867), Ren Xun 任薰 (1868), Jiang Shinong 姜石農 (1868, 1877), Dou Weiyong 竇維鏞 (Boying 伯英, 1868), Hu Gongshou 胡公壽 (1868), Sha Fu 沙馥 (1868), Chen Yunsheng 陳允升 (1868), Zhang Zixiang 張子祥 (1872), Ge Weiyong 葛惟英 (1873), Wu Zhongying 吳仲英 (1877, 1881), Ling Weiyi 凌惟一 (Weixian 味閑) (1877), Feng Gengshan 馮耕山 (1877), Gao Yong 高邕 (1877, 1887), Wu Gan 吳淦 (1878), Wu Wenxun 吳文恂 (1879), Chen Manshou 陳曼壽 (1879), Shen Luting 沈蘆汀 (1880), Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 (1883, 86, 87, 88, 93, 95, and undated), Zhao Xiaoyun 趙嘯雲 (1883), Jishi 吉石 (1887), Yang Xian 楊峴 (1887), Xugu 虛谷 (1888), Yao Xiaofu 姚小復 (1891), Yan Xinhou 嚴信厚 (before 1873), Ge

Qilong 葛其龍 (before 1883) and Yang Borun 楊伯潤 (before 1882).⁵

Notably, six portraits were made of the wives or relations of those artist friends, namely Shi Jixian 施季仙 (1893) and Wu Dongmai 吳東邁 (1891) are the wife and son, respectively, of Wu Changshuo; the wife of Hu Gongshou 胡公壽夫人 (1868); the wife of Jiang Shinong, Mrs. Peiqiu 佩秋夫人 (1868) and their grand-daughter (undated); Zhu Gu 朱鞠, female artist and wife of Gao Yong (1886); and Gao Huan 高煥 (also known as Shuzhen 淑貞, undated), artist and wife of Zhang Weixian 張味閒 (also known as Xuanji 旋吉). As described by Zhang Mingke, “[Ren Bonian] was also good at transmitting one’s spirit with his pure linear drawing. Therefore, people who wished to append their portraits to their publications all came to beg him to ‘add hairs’ (to paint portraits). 兼善白描傳神，一時刻集而冠以小像者，咸乞其添毫。”⁶ This particular use of portraiture to illustrate one’s own collected work was fashionable (Fig. 146). Ren Bonian’s portraits of well-known artists not only give us an illustrated index of these who were active in the Shanghai and Suzhou areas, but also indicates that Ren himself held a certain status and entrée in the scholarly world of his time.

2. Reality and Traditional Training

Trained by his father, and practising a style that was indebted to Ren Xun 任薰 (1835~1893) and Fei Danxu 費丹旭 (1801~1850), Ren Bonian gained

⁵ This portrait is now lost. Yang Borun’s self-inscription to this portrait is preserved in Yang Borun’s poem in *Nanhu caotang shiji* 南湖草堂詩集 (Collected poems from the thatched hut of the south lake), Shanghai, 1882, chapter 5, p. 18.

⁶ Zhang Mingke, *Hansongge tanyi suolu*, chapter 2, p.8.

traditional technique in the making of ancestor portraits from an early age.⁷

The portraiture skill he pursued during the 1860s was still very much under the impact of Zeng Jing 曾鯨 (also known as Zeng Pochen 波臣, 1564~1647) and the local traditional Jiangnan 江南 school. Zhang Geng 張庚 noted concerning Qing portraits that painters worked in two major styles:

One, created by Zeng Jing, is dominated by ink with touches of light wash added; the other started with the main facial features indicated in pale ink, followed by the application of colour washes in multiple layers, and is presumably closer to European effects and techniques. This is the traditional style in the Jiangnan area, but the Zeng [method] is better. I have seen the "Portrait of Zijing" painted in pure ink by Pochen, the visual effect is similar to that painted by layers of colouring. Therefore, [Zeng's method of using] ink to outline the structure is worth emphasising.⁸

寫真有二派：重墨骨，墨骨既成，然後敷彩，以取氣色之老少，其精神早傳於墨骨中矣，此閩中曾波臣之學；一略用淡墨勾出五官部位之大意，全用粉彩渲染，此江南畫家之傳法，而曾氏善矣。余曾見波臣所寫像子精水墨小照，神氣與設色者同，以視之墨骨之足重也。

Ren Bonian practised both portrayal styles in his early years to achieve

⁷ Ren Bonian also cooperated in painting several portraits with Xugu in his early years. Xugu was good at portraiture in traditional *xiezhēn* manner.

⁸ Zhang Geng, "Zeng Jing", *Guochao huazheng lu* 國朝畫徵錄 (Record of Qing Painting); cited in *Zhongguo xiaoxianghua xuanji* 中國肖像畫選集, ed. Liang Baiquan 梁白泉, Nanjing: Nanjing Museum, 1993, p. 16.

form-likeness. "Portrait of Liu Sheng 榴生像" (Fig. 147, 1868) echoes the discussion of Ren's traditional learning. The use of descriptive ink washes and layers of colour to accentuate the contrast between light and shadow could be observed in paintings of the Jiangnan tradition. Moreover, the balanced facial arrangement, also seen in his other work such as "Unidentified Portrait 佚名肖像" (Fig. 148, 1880) and "Portrait of Lu Shucheng 陸書成肖像" (Fig. 149, 1884), may suggest his awareness of physiognomic diagrams. By Qing time, illustrated books explaining the physiognomic traits of human features were in wide circulation. As demonstrated in the *Jieziyuan huazhuan* 芥子園畫傳 (Mustard Seed Garden painting manual) of 1818 edition (Figs. 150), the zones of the face indicated here have been given cosmological names related to categories used in phrenology and physiognomy in this newly added fourth volume of figure painting.⁹ Those artists who learnt to paint portraits would have been aware of the diagrams as such. The facial composition had also to follow sets of rules, such as *santing wuyan* 三停五眼 (Fig. 151) which means that the face should be divided into three parts horizontally: from the hairline to the point between the eyebrows, from the eyebrows to the philtrum and from the upper lip to the lower jaw; and the width of the face shall be about five times the width of an eye.

In order to achieve a degree of facility, Chinese painting has produced an extraordinary variety of basic rules, aids and methods which a young artist would more or less learn by heart, so that he could apply them whenever he

⁹ In the 1818 edition of *Jieziyuan huazhuan*, in addition to the landscape and bird-and-flower painting manuals, the newly added fourth series collected Ding Gao's 丁皋 "Xiezhen migue 寫真秘訣" (Secret method of portraying likeness) and other illustrations of various figurative subjects by previous exemplars. It might suggest a reevaluation of the genre of figure painting in the early nineteenth century. This widely circulated manual also had an impact on later artistic development.

wished, spontaneously and without self-consciousness. Even facing a living person in order to make a portrait, what young Ren Bonian drew was not merely based on his perception and observation of the character, intelligence or personality of the real person in front of him. The foundation of the image was his knowledge in painting and the level of skill he reached was in fact very much bound to the tradition and culture.

A parallel example showing his traditional training is “Portrait of the Retired Scholar of Fan Lake at the Age of Forty-Two 范湖居士四十二歲小像” (1867, Fig. 11 and Fig. 152; Zhou Xian 周閑, 1820~1879, self-styled after his studio’s name, Fanhu Caotang, the Thatched Hut of Fan Lake). The picture is carefully rendered in ink on paper that shows Ren Bonian’s homage to Zeng Jing’s emphasis on use of ink instead of colour wash. The painter firstly outlined his subject in the linear mode, and then applied shading to heighten the contrasts between dark and light. The line under the lip looks quite un-natural, like an extra device added without attention to verisimilitude.

Although it is a portrait in which the painter attempts a realistic representation, the image actually reveals a certain level of ideology grounded in the literati tradition. The posture of Ren’s figure finds a close parallel in woodcut illustrations: the “Farmer after Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫山樵” (Fig. 12) in *Jieziyuan huazhuan* 芥子園畫傳 and Ren Xiong’s “Portrait of Lu You 陸游像” (Fig. 13) in *Yuyue xianxianzhuan* 於越先賢傳 (Illustrated Biographies of Virtuous Ancients of Yue Region, 1856). In these pictures, each fold of robe remains graceful and airy, and every turn of the torso harmonious. However, the slightly intense and world-weary face of Zhou Xian is in conspicuous contrast with the impression we get from his relaxed gesture. The

reminiscence in Ren Bonian's portrait of printed literati exemplars, together with Zhou Xian's self-inscription in the style of *Lisao* 離騷, strongly suggests the role of the sitter and his associations with scholarly, artistic and poetic activities.¹⁰ Zhou Xian was awarded an official title for his assistance in putting down the Xiaodaohui 小刀會 Rebellion which occupied Shanghai from September 1853 to February 1855. Afterwards, he stayed in the country until the end of his life.¹¹ The inscription hints at Zhou Xian's repugnance for some ruthless figures who held political power in his time. The farmer's cap reveals his pursuit of self-cultivation instead of the official life. As he farms in the ink-field, poems and gentleman-ship are his best harvest.

The simple background element in Ren Bonian's portraits of his artist friends often carries much burden of expression. A fine example is the "Portrait of Sha Fu at the Age of Thirty-Nine 沙馥三十九歲小像" (Fig. 153, 1868).¹² The rock rises up steeply behind Sha Fu who stands smiling with his hands folded inside the sleeves. Such a composition of rock and figure is immediately associated with Ren Bonian's images of Mi Fu paying homage to a rock (Figs. 154, 155). Mi Fu, a Song eccentric known for his

¹⁰ *Lisao*, the title of a long prose-poem by Qu Yuan 屈原, of the state of Chu 楚 during the Warring States in which Qu Yuan vented his grievances for being disparaged and discarded by the king.

¹¹ Short biography of Zhou Xian is recorded by Yang Yi, *Haishang molin*, chapter 3, line 353; Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1988. Zhou Xian is also the author of *Fanhu caotang shiji* 范湖草堂詩集 (Collected poems of the thatched hut of Fan lake). On Xiaodaohui or Small Sword Society, see A. W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Dynasty*, p. 118~9.

¹² According to the colophon written by the owner of this portrait in 1912, Ma Heling 馬和齡 noted that originally there were four pictures of this same portrait kept by Sha Fu's descendants. By 1911 when Ma saw this surviving work the first time, the other three copies were already lost. It is difficult for us to trace back the purpose of having four copies of the same image since the composition and format of this painting are not like a normal commemorative portrait, as well as because Sha Fu lived for another 30 years after the portrait was composed. Owing to the lack of other examples for comparison, neither can we tell whether all four were done by Ren Bonian's own hand or whether some of them are copies by others. Judging by this existing work, the light colour wash and opaque white demonstrated on the face, the slightly cautious brush line and shading technique are certainly features visible in Ren Bonian's early work.

straightforwardness and love of stones, was particularly skilled in poetry, calligraphy and painting. The association with Mi Fu through the background element indirectly introduces Sha Fu to us as an artist. Instead of being excellent in the “three perfections”, Sha Fu was good at landscape, bird-and-flower, and figurative paintings in a fine manner, with which talent he earned his reputation in art among his contemporaries.

Attracted by the lively poses and the surrounding inscriptions, artists commissioned these images from Ren Bonian in their lifetime to share with colleagues and friends. Whether or not the sitters were in truth any greater, it remains a fact that, through the link with historical icons, the sitters’ talent or personality have been promoted in those metaphoric pictures. Beyond the demand for form-likeness or transmitting the spirit, such a “re-creation”, rooted in literary tradition and raised up by the growing sense of individualism, seems to be much in demand in the case of individual portraits in Ren Bonian’s time.

3. Reality and Literary Play

Ren Bonian often placed his sitters in outdoor settings. The painter sometimes arranged different subjects in a similar posture or a certain background. Examples are found in “Portrait of Zhang Zixiang at the age of Seventy 張子祥七十歲小像” (Fig. 156, 1872), “Unidentified Portrait 佚名肖像” (Fig. 159, not dated), “Portrait of Wu Changshuo Enjoying the Cool Shade of Banana Palms 蕉蔭納涼” (Fig. 160, undated), and “Portrait of Wu Changshuo Enjoying the Shade Beneath Coir Palms 吳昌碩棕蔭納涼” (Fig. 157, 1887). These images of a bare-bellied figure sitting outdoors are

reminiscent of the “Portrait of Jin Nong in His Noon Nap 金冬心午睡圖” (Fig. 158, 1760) by Luo Pin 羅聘 (1733~1799).

As Ren Bonian himself inscribed on his 1887 portrait of Wu Changshuo:

The image of Jin Dongxin (Jin Nong) in his noon nap by
Luo Liangfeng (Luo Pin) possesses an ancient flavour,
and I have copied it several times. Now I copy the
intent of this painting again for my old friend Cangshi
(Wu Changshuo).

羅兩峰爲金冬心畫午睡圖饒有古趣，余曾手臨數過，
今爲倉石老友再臨其意。¹³

In addition to the cultural association, the painter’s personal interest and patrons’ demands are both influential in the informal portrait. Although it is certain that Zhang Zixiang (1803~1886, native of Xiushui 秀水 in Zhejiang 浙江) and Wu Changshuo (1844~1927, native of Anji 安吉 in Zhejiang 浙江) were both artists, once roommates, and shared some common interests in collecting art, some questions remain. While all the figures stated above were placed in similar settings, does this choice of setting suggest the same association for two different sitters? Could the painter truly convey their nature and personal traits through the same pose?

It is also worth noting that the figure, the shape of belly and the gesture in

¹³ The painter’s inscription in the “Portrait of Wu Changshuo Enjoying the Shade Beneath Coir Palms 吳昌碩棕蔭納涼”, 1887, collection of the Wu family. Reproduced by Vinograd (*Boundaries of the Self*, p. 139, fig. 71) from *Zhongguo meishu*, 1980, no. 1:35. Jin Nong 金農 (1687~1763) and his student Luo Pin 羅聘 (1733~1799) were active artists in Yangzhou, and often regarded by art historians as members of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou 揚州八怪.

the unidentified portrait (Fig. 159) and that of Wu Changshuo (Fig. 160) closely resemble each other. One might wonder whether the painter had already set several modules, so that his customer could pose and be drawn from the selection he demanded or was offered when placing the commission?

According to Wu Changshuo's own description, he suffered greatly from the disastrous wars and famine brought by the Taiping Rebellions and unstable economy, and was often hungry and poor.¹⁴ His great success arrived towards the close of the century. Thus in the late 1880's, he only gradually began to be known in Suzhou and Shanghai, and still struggled to get more support from commissioners. If Wu were as poor and hungry as he described himself, would he be able to have such a well-fed figure like the one with fat round belly in the portrait? Is this work a "portrait giving untrue information" merely a literary play or a satire of the sitter's spirit? How far does Ren Bonian's brush penetrate reality?

¹⁴ "Creation originally loved me; I follow anywhere as a man of spirit. Lofty and dignified, with a seven-foot body; clear and lucid, two blue eyes. How is it that for twenty years of life, (I have been) daily urged on by arriving hunger? Year after year, wading the rivers and seas; face and eyes dried by wind and dust. Deeply and firmly embracing frugality and poverty; intelligent and broad-minded, forgetting to sigh. My plans for making a living rely on my brush and ink-stone; for long and long impoverished and facing the corner [as when a guest is left out in the cold, and things unfairly apportioned]; pawning fur garments that were excellent in wind and snow; at times giving up what one treasures and selling books. Selling books and then selling land; ruined and destroyed all fertility and richness. My mother gnaws wild herb roots; and plays with her grandchild in the hall for amusement. My wife steams and dresses food by the upright door-fastening bar; in the round window there is no quarrel over my official's pay. Old friends did not break off friendships; but arriving at the gate, they don't descend from their carriages. Seen laughing by the roadside – who is it? Butchers and dealers with sparse hair at the temples and beards. Refusing visitors, I consider myself; Heaven and Earth originally [] a hut; the sun and moon shine on my face; the clouds and fog tug at my robe. Trusting in Heaven the bird knows his fate; how is it that man is not a bird's equal? Watching Heaven; moreover listening to Heaven; would that Heaven would examine my stupidity! Throughout China the grain doesn't ripen; who would pity this *Picture of a Vagrant Wanderer*? Heaven's heart, as if manifesting pity, rains grain on the three capital districts. I myself also obtained hunger; crossing my hands behind my back, I roam this (Golden Age of the Sage Emperors) Tang Yao and Yu Shun!", inscription by Wu Changshuo on "Hungriely Watching Heaven 飢看天圖" (portrait of Wu Changshuo), 1886, collection of Siling yinshe 西泠印社 in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province; translation by R. Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, p. 137~8.

A noteworthy comparison to Ren's portrait of Wu Changshuo is another cooperative portrait by Yin Yuan 尹沅 and Ren Bonian with the topic "Wu Changshuo Returning Home 吳昌碩歸田圖" (Fig. 162, 1893).¹⁵ Although Wu Changshuo was only five years older when he sat for Yin Yuan, the figures in these two portraits look quite different, as if they were not images of the same individual.

Under Yin Yuan's brush, the features were rendered by layers of colour wash and ink shading to bring in a vital visual effect. The painter's depiction of Wu's facial features seems more reasonable and accurate, and their composition is closer to what we call "reality" (Fig. 161, undated photograph), however the sitter showed little emotion through his stilled facial expression and pose.

In contrast to Yin's version, the sitter was transcribed in a speedy and freehand brushwork with full calligraphic flavour in Ren Bonian's 1888 image. The painter applied a few strokes and gentle touches of colour wash to suggest the *wuguan* 五官 (five organs) and wrinkles on the face. Wu's mouth was even fraudulently "written" in a form like a bird's beak with a few calligraphic lines. While this image of Wu Changshuo is almost like a caricature, the spirit of the sitter in Ren's image seems more down to earth than Yin Yuan's image. If photography offers a more faithful record of what the sitter looked like, all three seem to capture the rather distinguishing large and slightly lop-sided lips, and Ren's sitter is close to the photographs taken in Wu's later years (Fig. 161). The slight knitting of the forehead above the brows and the

¹⁵ Yin Yuan 尹沅, also known as Yin Lisheng 尹麗生, was active after the mid-nineteenth century as a portrait painter in traditional *xiezhēn* manner. His name was not recorded in *Haishang molin*, perhaps he was one of Ren Bonian's students.

bewildered gaze of Wu Changshuo in the photograph best recall a thoughtful personality of the sitter, who suffered a lot in the corrupt political world, struggled in the ink forest to make a living, and who of course complained quite a lot in his massive production of poems. In 1904, ten years after the artist's death, Wu Changshuo added an inscription in seal script to Ren Bonian's portrait of himself (Fig. 160),

Heaven-travelling clouds are without mind;
If one learns to be calm, one can understand surrounding
objects.
The belly-drum has three day's intoxication;
the body is fat like a gourd that can hold five *dan* of rice.
At the age of sixty years, I am amazed by a feeling of deafness.
My elbows ache and my feet are also lame;
sicknesses inside me made my body bent.
Half-blind to rectifying errors, difficult to be regarded as
a good official, I vowed not to do it.
The means of livelihood is not enough to ask about;
one can directly compare it to cloth hidden in the midst of a
cart.
In an extremely bad situation, I asked others in a humble
and timid way;
but men's faces are like clay sculpture.
Strange affairs, how weird!
My calligraphy and painting are also envied by many.

Although there is a good result, what value?

I am self-motivated to exert and strive, and look for my
own support.

I drink ink, often several *dou*'s [Chinese peck] worth;
facing the paper I bravely spit it out at once.

Some of it turns into bookworms amidst my calligraphy,
some of it flies to become dragons on the wall.

Buying intoxication, drinking for the whole day, gaining
cash, one can laugh at others.

I would rather be "Returning Home" [like Tao
Yuanming];

learning farming and gardening.

Amid the banana leaves, the wind chimes delicate and
dainty;

last night it rained as if pouring down.

Amidst blue mountains and the white clouds,
there are many places for chanting poetry.¹⁶

天游雲無心，習靜物可悟。腹鼓三日醉，身肥五石瓠。
行年方耳順，便得耳聾趣。肘酸足復跛，肺肝病以婁。
好官誓不作，眇匡訛難顧。生計不足問，直比車中布。
否極羞告人，人面如泥塑。怪事咄咄嘆，書畫人亦妒。
雖好果奚貴，自強自取柱。飲墨常幾斗，對紙豪一吐。
或飛壁上龍，或走書中蠹。得泉可笑人，買醉一日度。
不如歸去來，學農又學圃。蕉葉風玲瓏，昨夕雨如注。

¹⁶ Wu Changshuo's inscription in clerical style, dated 1904 on the "Portrait of Wu Changshuo Enjoying the Cool Shade of Banana Palms 蕉蔭納涼" (Fig. 108) by Ren Bonian.; translation by Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, p.133, with slight modifications.

青山白雲中，大有吟詩處。

In this poetic inscription, Wu Changshuo presents himself as a weary official who is burdened with physical illness and seeking retirement to a realm of cultivated leisure. “The portrait took part in a kind of double reverberation”, suggested Vinograd, “It implied a comparison with the earlier portrait of Jin Nong by Luo Pin while forcing a reading in terms of physical presence in contrast to the psychological remoteness of the earlier image. At the same time, it called forth the iconography of the retiree at leisure even as it is embroiled in late nineteenth-century social transitions and dissatisfactions that make the same iconography seem ironic and anachronistic.”¹⁷

In considering the relationship between portrait, reality and cultural accomplishment, we happen to have two pictures made by Ren Bonian of the same sitter, one is a draft (Fig. 163, 1877), one the finished work (Fig. 164, 1877) of “Portrait of Feng Gengsan Reading Poetry 馮耕三讀古詩小象”.¹⁸

In the facial drawing of the draft (Fig. 165), Ren Bonian outlined the features with ink lines and applied stronger shading (e.g. around the nose) to heighten the contrast between the convex and hollow parts of the face. The overlapping lines on the nose suggest that it is a painter’s study. Then Ren Bonian used a rather refined, steady brushwork in the finished version (Fig. 166). The colouring of the finished work is very smooth and even. The

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 12, p. 133.

¹⁸ Feng Yun 馮澐, self-styled as Gengsan 耕三, was a scholar and poet who went to Japan one year after this portrait was executed. There are several inscriptions written by Zhang Xiong, Hu Gongshou, Chen Manshou, Tang Xunbo and Wu Gan on the finished version of this picture.

painter has therefore to adjust all his gradations to what is objectively a very narrow range of tones, but has filled out and added weight and character to the face, from the forehead to the heavier nose, fuller lower lip and added double chin. Although the outward forms of the two versions look alike, the gestures of the sitter differ, in that one holds a book in both hands, sits on a rush mat and leans forward with a rock behind him; while the other holds the book with just one hand, and leans back upon the rocks. Do they therefore present what the artist had in front of his eyes?

A draft is a painter's own notes or memento. The strokes and colouring therefore look sharper and more expressive as the hand directly transcribes the painter's observations on the sitter without much forethought.

In a finished work, the painter's brush is weighted by many considerations. Since the portrait's function is not only to record, but also to be shown to viewers, it has to be a work suggesting the "likeness" in a style that pleases his patron. So the strong shading was omitted in the finished version, since Chinese do not like to have shadows on the face. The image also has to meet social expectations in regard to the status of the sitter. Therefore, the tonality on the face is more harmonious which indicates the composure and thoughtful personality of a man of letters as he sits reading poetry. The more relaxed gesture of the literatus in an outdoor setting implies the sitter's being at ease in Nature, and his calmness and unhurried manner, surely show him to be a *junzi* 君子 or true gentleman in the traditional Chinese view. After his fellow friends add complimentary poems and inscriptions around the picture, the portrait is then complete.

Reality and Role Play

Besides those made for his artist friends, Ren Bonian also made portraits for art dealers,¹⁹ such as the portrait for Zhu Jintang 朱錦棠, the owner of Jiuhuatang Fan shop 九華堂箋扇店. In Ren Bonian's inscription (Fig. 167) almost invisible in the lower left corner of the "Portrait of Three Friends"(Fig. 200, 1883, Beijing Palace Museum), he wrote: "The two brothers Jintang and Fengyi instruct me to paint a portrait. They allow me to sit with them and call us 'three friends'. I am so fortunate. I am so fortunate indeed. 錦棠風沂兩兄囑頤寫照，更許在座，謂之三友，幸甚幸甚". While Ren Bonian described how much he was honoured to be friends with Zeng Fengji 曾鳳寄 and Zhu Jintang 朱錦棠 in his most humble tone, it also portrayed a new relationship between painter and art dealer who began to be closely related and mutually dependent in that commercialised society. Along with the rapid development of the economy, a new kind of art patronage emerged from a new class of art buyers, and was associated with a dramatically increasing number of shops selling paintings, that established a thriving market of contemporary art.

A parallel example is Ren Bonian's relationship with Hu Zhang 胡璋, the

¹⁹ Ren Bonian made one portrait for Wu Wenxun 吳文恂, known as Master of Tingyu lou 聽雨樓主, the dealer of a Fan shop. (Portrait of Wu Wenxun Seeking the Inspiration for Poetry Under the Pine Tree 吳文恂松下尋詩圖, 1879, Tianyige 天一閣, inscribed by Yang Borun, Hu Gongshou, Xu Xiaocang and Pu Hua) and a co-operative work "Gathering at Tingyulou 聽雨樓圖" (1877, Changzhou wenwu shangdian 常州市文物商店) with several artists dedicated to Wu. Ren Bonian also painted works such as "Baizhan tu 白戰圖" (snowy scene, 1884) when Zhu visited Ren on a snowy day, in which Ren Bonian addressed Zhu as "the third brother". The close relationship between artists and art dealer is also presented in the inscriptions by Zhang Xiong, Zhong Dexiang, Hu Gongshou, Hu Tiemei, Tao Shenxuan and Xu Yuanlin. All were famous contemporary artists, and Hu Tiemei himself is also an art dealer (Guxiangshi Fanshop).

owner of Guxiangshi Fanshop 古香室箋扇店.²⁰

Several of Ren Bonian's pictures were painted in his residence in Guxiangshi Fanshop. It is commonly said that after Ren Bonian became famous, in return for the favour and help he received from the owner when he first came to Shanghai, each winter the painter would spend about a month residing in Guxiangshi Fanshop to produce works specially for them. Ren Bonian became quite successful before he was forty (1880).²¹ However, according to the extant works we have gathered, the earliest date for Ren Bonian's painting for Guxiangshi was found in "*jiaping* (the twelfth month) of *yiyou* year 乙酉嘉平" (in the Western calendar, January 1886), which in fact coincides with the time when Hu Zhang returned from Japan and began to be the manager of Guxiangshi Fanshop.²²

Ren's reason for painting for the Guxiangshi perhaps was not simply to repay the kindness of the owner, but might be closely related to Hu Zhang's arrival as the new manager in 1886. It was likely that Hu Zhang invited Ren

²⁰ Hu Zhang (also known as Tiemei 鐵梅, Yaochengzi 堯誠子, Zhangqisheng 杖期生, 1848~1899), was a native of Tongcheng 桐城 in Anhui 安徽, son of the painter Hu Yin 胡寅. His family had been living in Shanghai since his father's generation. As a painter, he travelled to Japan and earned a living in Nagasaki 長崎, Nagoya 名古屋, Kyoto 京都 and Osaka 大阪 during August 1880~January 1886. He became very famous as a landscape painter of blunt manner after his return from Japan. He was very active in Shanghai literary circles as an art dealer and a reformer. Later on, he founded *Su Bao* 蘇報 in the foreign district in support of the social reform movement led by Kang Youwei 康有為. When the reform movement failed, the newspaper ceased publication as Hu Tiemei fled to Kōbe 神戶 with his Japanese wife by the end of September of 1898. Hu had no chance to return home but died next year abroad. Biography of Hu Zhang is seen in "Hu Tiemei yuhua Riben 胡鐵梅鬻畫日本" (Hu Tiemei sold paintings in Japan), Xu Ke 徐珂, *Qingbai leichao* 清稗類鈔 (Anecdotes on Qing History), Yishulei 藝術類, 71, Shanghai: Shangwu shuju, 1917; reprinted in Taipei: Shangwu shuju, 1966. Yang Yi, *Haishang molin* 海上墨林 (Ink forest of Shanghai), Shanghai, 1920, chapter 3, line 462. It is also recorded in Takeyoshi Tsuruta, "Study of Chinese painters who came to Japan in the Meiji era — Luo Xuegu and Hu Tiemei", *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, Tokyo, no.324, June 1983, pp.23~29.

²¹ Stated in the short biography of Ren Bonian, *Haishang molin*, chapter 3, line 423.

²² Takeyoshi Tsuruta, "Study of Chinese painters who came to Japan in the Meiji era — Luo Xuegu and Hu Tiemei", *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, Tokyo, no.324, June 1983, pp. 23~29.

Bonian to paint for the shop immediately after he became the manager of Guxiangshi through the introduction of their mutual friends Zhang Zixiang and Hu Gongshou. To have one of the most famous painters work for him could be the best advertisement for his business as well as for his fame. On the other hand, Hu Zhang himself was not only an active painter and art dealer in Shanghai circles, but also a figure of strong ambition as he had very intensive connections with Japanese and Chinese politicians and scholars. He was reputed to be and regarded himself as a modern-day man of letters. Therefore, partly for friendship and partly for self-enhancement, by working for Hu Zhang, Ren Bonian's membership in Shanghai's most elite literati circle was fully ratified.²³

In a work "Gathering at Tingyulou 聽雨樓圖" (Fig. 168, 1877) the result of cooperation between Ren Bonian 任伯年, Hu Yuan 胡遠, Yang Borun 楊伯潤 and Chen Yunsheng 陳允升, two figures lying on a smoking bed and others sitting on chairs (Fig. 169) are portrayed enjoying the relaxing time and friendship in the residence of Wu Wenxun 吳文洵, the owner of a fanshop. The close interaction between the art dealer and artist is summarised here.

While his relationship with patrons and art dealers seemed successful in other works, the painter boldly laughed in a pair of portraits of his very best friends: artists cast as beggars. In comparing "Portrait of Hengyun Mountain Man As Beggar 橫雲山民行乞圖" (Fig. 170, 1868) to "Portrait of Gao Yongzhi

²³ Perhaps because of his experience of living in the international cities in Japan and his chances to see Western painting or Japanese painting of Western fashion, Hu Zhang's paintings showed an awareness of western style in presenting the vitality and depth in landscape. At the same time, his figure painting are mostly done in speedy and simple brushwork, which might be relevant to the Japanese scholarly taste in *Nanga* 南畫. Paintings Ren made for Guxiangshi were mainly bird-and-flower in *xiayi* manner with free and blunt brushwork. It might partly owing to Hu Zhang's own taste, but it may also have been on account of Hu's Japanese customers favouring of the free-hand style.

As Calligrapher-Beggar 高邕之書丐圖” (Fig. 171, 1887), the sitters in both images carry a stick and a basket of paper, brush and object symbolising the activities of the gentleman. The heavy modelling of Gao Yongzhi’s face combines with the stark profile presentation to create an effect of vivid, objective presence and something of the representational force of a photographic likeness. After twenty years of living in Shanghai, Ren’s new application in technique was perhaps related to his awareness of the available Western technologies of image production, which I discuss in the second part of this chapter. However, Ren’s revisit to the role of artists displaying their talents yet living just like beggars, submits the darker view of the role of the artist in Shanghai. These metaphorical images also echo a poem by another good friend of Ren Bonian, the artist monk Xugu: “It is not by accident that plums were painted all over the scrolls, the cold bone by nature is not affected by surroundings. I wrote three thousand scrolls [of plums] in my leisure time, to beg in this earthly world for money for food. 滿紙梅花豈偶然，天生寒骨任周旋。閑中寫出三千幅，行乞人間作飯錢。”²⁴

Works of art were not just for occasional literary play but had become a commodity for sale to the public. Art had to please and negotiate. It is not surprising that Ren’s good friend Wu Changshuo also wrote about the circumstances his artist contemporaries met with in a poem dedicated to Hu Gongshou: “Sometimes he pauses and laments with a deep sigh, he hates the turbulence in Shen river (Shanghai) for it is too muddy to wash his feet. 有時

²⁴ The poem is found on a silk fan painting by Xugu (not dated, in a private collection), published in Fu Hua and Cai Geng, *Xugu huace* 虛谷畫冊 (collected album of paintings by Xugu), Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1984, plate 145.

擱筆發浩歎，濯足頗厭申江渾”²⁵

When a portrait carries so much of the personal flavour as well as burden of the society and culture, it might perhaps seem unnecessary for us to relate and interpret “reality” in such works, but one should consider the intriguing difficulties encountered by the artist in seeking to present faithfully the original under the limitations imposed by the stereotype. As presented in the case of Ren Bonian whose portraits were restrained by his traditional training, what concepts and circumstances lie deep behind his skill, medium and surface image may be perhaps the crucial questions in the genre of Chinese portraiture.

²⁵ “Hu Hengyun (Gongshou) 胡橫雲 (公壽)”, *Wu Changshuo zaoqi shigao shouji liangzhong* 吳昌碩早期詩稿手跡兩種 (The early handwritten draft in poetry by Wu Changshuo), part II, no page number and date given; reprinted by Hangzhou: Siling yinshe, 1994.

V. FROM MUSTARD SEED GARDEN TO TUSHANWAN

B. Foreign Stimuli in Ren Bonian's Portraiture

Shanghai was the centre of Western activity in late nineteenth century China, with a significant presence of foreign architecture, Christian based schools and Western technologies in the foreign quarter.¹ In the analysis of Ren Bonian's portraiture, besides the traditional training and concept carried in his portraits, we should consider his awareness of Western-influenced painting style and of photography which were both acting as external stimuli in contemporary Shanghai.

Japan?

1. Western Influenced Paintings and Woodcut Illustrations in China

Beyond the traditional rivalry of scholarly and traditional values, the impact of European paintings and prints had entered China since the late Ming by Zeng

¹ After the Nanjing Treaty between China and Britain signed in 1842, Shanghai was one of the first ports opened to foreign trade and residence. In a set of Land Regulations promulgated by the Daotai 道臺 (the chief local Chinese territorial official) on November 29th, 1845, with the approval of the Viceroy at Nanjing, the International Settlement was originated. These Englishmen were soon joined by French, Americans and an even greater number of foreign traders and missionaries. By the turn of the century, there were no fewer than fifty-eight foreign communities in Shanghai. The Western presence and vigorous trading activities had made Shanghai the most populous city and the largest metropolis in China. One can easily find the representative buildings of foreign or mixed architectural styles on The Bund and the Central District of the International Settlement. On detailed history of International Settlement, see F. C. Jones, *Shanghai and Tientsin*, London: Oxford University Press and Humphrey Milford, 1940, p. 3~24; on foreign community and population in the foreign settlements at Shanghai, see Zou Yiren, *Jiu Shanghai renkou bianqian de yanjiu* 舊上海人口變遷的研究 (A study of the changes in population of old Shanghai), Shanghai, 1980, p. 68 and 81; on foreign architecture in Shanghai, see Jon W. Huebner, "Architecture on the Shanghai Bund", *Papers on Far Eastern History*, vol. 39, March 1989, pp. 127~165; and Huebner, "Architecture and History in Shanghai's Central District", *Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. 26, 1988, no. 2, pp. 209~269.

Jing's (1564~1647) time. A contemporary commentator, Jiang Shaoshu 姜紹書 (active 1642~1679) touched on the most salient elements: "[Zeng] painted portraits that looked like a reflection of models in a mirror, capturing wonderfully their spirit and feelings. His colouring was deeply rich. The eye pupils were dotted for effects of animation; although (the faces) were only on paper and silk, they would glare and gaze, knit their brows or smile, in a manner alarmingly like real people. 磅礴寫照，如鏡取影，妙得神情。其傳色淹潤，點睛生動，雖在楮素，盼睠頻笑，咄咄逼真。"² Jiang Shaoshu also wrote about the European paintings brought by Matteo Ricci (known to Chinese as Li Madou 利瑪竇, 1552~1610) that "their eyebrows, eyes, and folds of their garments were as clear as images in a mirror. They look as if they want to move by themselves 眉目衣紋，如明鏡涵影，踴躍欲動".³ The reference to the deep rich colouring and mirror-like appearance of Zeng Jing's portrait images in the account above may point to such Western influence, as Zeng Jing's arenas of activity, Fujian and Nanjing, were centres of foreign influence and Jesuit missionary activity.

Missionaries after Matteo Ricci generally brought the Bible, oil paintings, maps and scientific books with them to China. Later on, Giuseppe Castiglione (1688~1766, also known as Lang Shining 郎世寧), Ignace Sichelbarth (1708~1780, known to Chinese as Ai Qimeng 艾啟蒙), Jean-Denis Attiret (1702~1768, known as Wang Zhicheng 王致誠 in China) were well-received and active in the Kangxi Emperor's court (1662~1722). They

² Jiang Shaoshu 姜紹書, *Wusheng shishi* 無聲詩史, chapter 4, "Xiyu hua 西域畫"; *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書, edited by Yu Anlan, Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1962, vol.2-4-2, p. 71.

³ Jiang Shaoshu, *Wusheng shishi* 無聲詩史, chapter 7, "Xiyu hua 西域畫"; *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書, p. 133

introduced Chinese court painters not only to the Western calendar, scientific knowledge and weapons, but also to Western perspective and oil painting technique. However, the influence brought by this knowledge of oil painting and watercolour was limited to the higher rank gentry and court painters. It was the illustrated books and engravings that were probably more influential in the long run, for they were more widely circulated and more easily reproduced.

The four Western pictures (Fig. 172) collected in *Chengshi moyuan* 程氏墨苑 (Mr. Cheng's Ink Garden, 1606, compiled by Cheng Dayue 程大約) after engravings provided by Matteo Ricci perhaps were the first Chinese reproduction of Western engravings available to the public. Among these four pictures, the first three pictures "Jesus Walks on Water 信而步海,疑而即沉" (New Testament, Matthew 14:22), "On the Road to Emmaus 二徒聞實,即捨空虛" (New Testament, Luke 24:13) and "Sodom and Gomorrah Destroyed 嬌色晦氣,自速天火" (Old Testament, Genesis 19) were based on Biblical stories and have been identified as adaptations from engravings published by the Plantin Press in Antwerp, and the fourth "Madonna and Child" was copied from an engraving produced in P. Jean Nicolao's academy at Arima in Japan, which in turn was indebted to another engraving by Jérôme Wierx of a painting in Seville, Spain.⁴ Drawn by Ding Yunpeng 丁雲鵬 (1547~after 1628) and engraved by Huang Lin 黃麟 (1565~?), the four woodcuts faithfully represented the composition and figures of the originals. The foreshortening, shading technique and realistic representation distinguished the four reproductions of Western engravings from the rest of Cheng's book. The capture of life-like quality and the three-dimensional volume through the

⁴ Paul Pelliot, "La Peinture et la Gravure Européennes en Chine au Temps de Mathieu Ricci", *T'oung Pao* 通報, vol. 20, 1921, p. 1~18.

dramatic effect of light and shade of the Western illustrations, as demonstrated in *Chengshi moyuan*, particularly attracted the Chinese. As P. Nicolaus Longobardi (1559~1654) once wrote: "Here all such books are considered very artistic and subtle, because they make use of shadows, which do not exist in Chinese painting." Under the request of P. Nicolaus Longobardi in a letter dated 18 October 1598 to Rome, a devotional book *Illustrations pour l'Évangile* (or *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*) edited by P. Geronimo Nadal (1520~1589) with a considerable number of illustrations, finally arrived in Nanjing in 1605.⁵

P. Nadal's book was published in Plantin's Press in Antwerp in 1592 with 153 illustrations painted by Bernardino Passari and chiefly engraved by Hieronymus Wierx and Jérôme Wierx, the authors of the models for the illustrations in *Chengshi moyuan* discussed before.⁶ The one hundred and fifty three engravings in the *Illustrations pour l'Évangile* (1592, Fig. 173, 175) were used as model by missionaries in China ever since its arrival. In 1624, *Song nianzhu guicheng* 誦念珠規程 (Méthode pour la récitation du Rosaire, Fig. 174, 1624) was published by Gaspar Ferreura, S. J. in Nanjing with 130 illustrations.⁷ In 1637, Giulio Aleni S. J. 艾儒略 (known as Siyou 思友, 1582~1649) published *Tianzhu jiangsheng zhuxiang jingjie* 天主降生主像經解 (Scènes de la vie de Jésus, Fig. 176) with 56 illustrations after Nadal's book at Jingjiaotang 景教堂, Jinjiang 晉江.⁸ In 1888, Tushanwan published *Daoyuan*

⁵ Mayching Kao, "European Influences in Chinese Art, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries", *China and Europe — Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Thomas H. C. Lee, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1991, p. 256.

⁶ The information I found of Nadal's book is in the collection of the Bibliothèque du Roi, see Monique Cohen & Nathalie Monnet, *Impressions de Chine*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1992, p. 114.

⁷ Collection of Bibliothèque du Roi, Monique Cohen & Nathalie Monnet, *Impressions de Chine*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1992, p. 110

⁸ Collection of Bibliothèque Impériale; Henri Bertin; Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal; Mme de

jingcui 道原精萃 (*Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, Fig. 177) edited by Valentinus Garnier 倪懷綸. The book was divided into 8 chapters with 300 illustrations of which 111 images were based on an illustrated version by an unknown French Jesuit with text in French.⁹ In 1890, Tushanwan published a reprint of *Daoyuan jingcui* with 250 illustrations. Later, Tushanwan published other editions of *Daoyuan jingcui* with 206 illustrations in 1904 and with 236 illustrations in 1926.¹⁰

Notably, the Tushanwan reproductions since 1888 were printed in Shanghai with a great number of illustrations in Western style by Chinese artisans in addition to Nadal's copy. Compared to earlier seventeenth-century illustrations, the Tushanwan illustrations obviously show deeper understanding in spatial arrangement, perspective, shading technique and realistic approaches. This series of illustrations after Nadal's *Illustrations pour l'Évangile* (1592) represents the changing perceptions on Western painting among artisans of the Jiangnan region 江南 (South of the Yangtze River) in China. The increasing number of illustrations for the same story of Christ's Life revealed that Chinese artists had already gained a high degree of ability in creating Western pictures by the end of the nineteenth century.

In the preface of the 1888 edition, the French Jesuit Louis Gaitlard (known by the Chinese name Fang Dianhua 方殿華, 1850~1900) gives a clear account of the sources and artists of these illustrations. In it he wrote:

Pompadour. See Monique Cohen & Nathalie Monnet, *Impressions de Chine*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1992, p. 112.

⁹ *Daoyuan jingcui* 道原精萃 (*Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*), Shanghai: Tushanwan, 1888.

¹⁰ These Tushanwan publications of 1888, 1890, 1904 and 1926 are in the collection of the Library of the Beijing University. See Wu Hongliang 吳洪亮, "Cong *Daoyuan jingcui* dao *Gushi xiangjie* 從道原精萃到古史像解" (From *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* to *Illustrated History of the Old Testament*), *Wenyi yanjiu* 文藝研究, 1997, no. 2, p. 143~150.

In the third year of *Xianfeng* (1853), an unknown French Jesuit painted one hundred and thirty pictures based on images by P. Geronimo Nadal. He engraved the illustrations on steel and appended texts underneath. As the text was in French, it brought very little benefit to Chinese readers. Last year the Jesuit Ni [Huilun], Bishop of Jiangnan region collected the book *Daoyuan jingcui* (Evangelicae Historiae Imagines), and placed an order for three hundred pictures from the Jesuit Liu Bizhen. Liu then instructed the disciples of Cimitang (Institute of St. Maria) and made illustrations for the book. Among them, one hundred and eleven illustrations were imitations after the French Jesuit's original work; the rest of pictures were in debt to other famous painters. When the illustrations were made, they hired local craftsmen to carve these pictures into woodcut prints. Those craftsmen were also educated in Cimitang. Since last year, I took responsibility to oversee the completion of the paintings and other procedures. Being afraid of readers not knowing the origin of the illustrations, I am appending this acknowledgement at the beginning of the book.

咸豐三年 (1853)，法司鐸某仿拿君稿，繪像百三十枚，鑄於鋼，綴圖說，爲撰以法文，而裨於華人也鮮。去年江南主教倪大司牧輯道原精萃一書，囑修士劉必振

率慈母堂小生畫像三百章，列於是書。期間百十一張，仿法司鐸原著，餘皆博采名家，描寫成幅。既竣，雇手民鐫於木。夫手民亦慈母堂培植成技者也。余自去歲以來，承委督繪像等藝，恐閱是書者，不知像之由來，爰志此於卷首云。¹¹

Cimutang, part of the Tushanwan organization, and the chief artist Liu Bizhen (Fig. 178; 1843~1912, also known as Dezhai 德齋 and Zhuwu shuwu shizhe 竹梧書屋侍者) mentioned above are said to have had connections with Ren Bonian. According to Shen Zhiyu 沈之瑜, Ren Bonian was interested in Western painting techniques and materials, he has also studied them with Liu Bizhen, the main artist for the heavily illustrated volume on the Christ's Life published by the Tushanwan Orphanage. As Shen wrote:

He (Ren Bonian) had a friend called Liu Dezhai (Liu Bizhen), who was the director of the Tushanwan library founded by the Catholic Church in Xujiahui district, Shanghai. Liu and Ren saw each other frequently. Liu had a good training in Western drawing that must certainly have had an impact on Ren Bonian's basic learning of life-drawing. Whenever Ren went out, he carried a painting album in his pocket and would sketch scenes he encountered in pencil. His habit and method of doing

¹¹ Preface "Xiangji 像記" (Record of Scenes) by Louis Gaitlard (1850~1900, French Jesuit), *Daoyuan jingcui* 道原精萃 (Evangelicae Historiae Imagines), Shanghai: Tushanwan, 1888.

pencil drawings must relate to his connection with Liu Dezhai.

他有一個朋友叫劉德齋，是當時上海天主教會在徐家匯土山灣所辦圖書館主任。兩人來往很密。劉的西洋畫素描基礎很厚，對任伯年的寫生基礎有一定的影響，任每當外出，必手備一折，見有可取景物，即以鉛筆鉤錄，這種鉛筆速寫的方法、習慣，與劉的交往不無關係。¹²

This passage by Shen Zhiyu has frequently been cited by modern researchers.

The artist Zhang Chongren 張充仁 (1907~1998, native of Shanghai), who learnt painting in the Craft and Art School of Tushanwan Orphanage 土山灣工藝場 in the early twentieth century, also mentioned the friendship between Ren Bonian and Liu Bizhen.¹³ However, these sources have not been confirmed for the lack of firsthand evidence, such as letters or poems exchanged between them, available to us. Very little research about the craft and art organization of the Tushanwan Orphanage or about Liu himself has been published so far. Nevertheless, the Craft and Art School of Tushanwan Orphanage was an important, pioneering cradle of Western arts and crafts in China. Accordingly, we shall consider the importance and the possible

What about
Zhang Hongxi's
article?

¹² "Guanyu Ren Bonian de xin shiliao 關於任伯年的新史料" (New historical material on Ren Bonian), *Wenhui bao* 文匯報, 1961.9.7, page 4; *Ren Bonian yanjiu* 任伯年研究 (Research on Ren Bonian) edited by Gong Chanxing, Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1982, p. 16~17. On Liu Bizhen, see page 165 below.

¹³ Chen Yaowang 陳耀王, *Nisu zhi shenshou ye - Zhang Chongren de yishu rensheng* 泥塑之神手也——張充仁的藝術人生 (Master of sculpture - The artistic life of Zhang Chungren), Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 2003, p. 10; Ding Xiyuan, "Ren Bonian renwuhua zongshu 任伯年人物畫縱述" (The figure painting of Ren Bonian) *Mingjia hanmo* 名家翰墨, no.28, Hong Kong: Hanmoxuan, May 1992, p.62.

influence of this institute for contemporary Shanghai artists and Ren Bonian's painting.

2. The First Cradle of Western Arts and Crafts in China—

Craft School of Tushanwan 土山灣工藝場, Xujiahui 徐家匯

Xujiahui 徐家匯, located outside the west gate of Shanghai, was the hometown of Xu Guangqi 徐光啓 who was known for his close contact with the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci. Owing to its long catholic tradition tied with the Xu family and the growing numbers of church members, the headquarters of the Chinese Jesuit Society 中國耶穌會 was set up here after 1847. The Xujiahui Church was in charge of several other institutions, for instance monasteries and a nunnery, library, Xuhui High School, Xuhui Teacher's School, Lesi Elementary School, Astronomy Laboratory, Painting Studio, Orphanage and so on. The Orphanage was first founded in Hengtang 橫塘 in 1855, then moved to Caijiawan 蔡家灣 by the end of the same year. Owing to the Taiping Rebellion, the houses for orphans were destroyed, and were moved to Dongjiadu 董家渡 in 1860. By 1863, the Orphanage finally settled down in Tushanwan at the south end of Xujiahui where it remained until it was closed (Fig. 179, photo of Xujiahui when it was first established). The Tushanwan Orphanage contained several departments:

1. Cimitang 慈母堂: Also known as Xuluntang 敘倫堂. Built in 1866, destroyed by fire in 1920 and rebuilt in 1936, it was the place for religious activities.
2. Ciyun Primary School 慈雲小學: It offered a six-year education in

writing and mathematics: the first four years were for the primary learners and the following two years were for the higher classes. Most of the students were male orphans; some were from working families living nearby.

3. **Craft and Art School:** After finishing primary school, orphans had a different time schedule for learning in the higher class. From 7:00 ~ 9:00 in the morning, they studied Chinese, mathematics, physics, chemistry, geography, foreign languages and so on. From 13:30 ~ 15:00, they attended the class to practise moral culture, and the rest of the time was spent in learning craftsmanship. The aim was to train orphans to be independent and to earn their own living in the future.
4. **Craft Factory (Fig. 180):** After two years training in craftsmanship, apprentices were sent to different departments according to their talents and interests. Besides 9 hours working, orphans attended classes of intellectual learning. The factory consisted of five departments:
 - a. **Woodcraft Department:** The workshop produced Chinese and Western woodcraft, including furniture, figure and animal sculptures, lacquers with gold, silver and coloured paints and toys.
 - b. **Metal Workshop:** The workshop produced ceremonial articles, metal necessities of life, clocks, metal boxes, iron doors and windows.
 - c. **Shoe and Clothes Department:** This department mainly made clothes and shoes for members in the orphanage and schools. The scale of this department was small, and it was closed down about 1940.

- d. Painting Studio (Fig. 181): Founded in 1868, the studio was at first divided into two parts: one for watercolours, sketches and ink paintings; one for oil paintings. The flower and bird, figure painting and photographic portraiture¹⁴ produced in the studio won prizes awarded by *Nanyang quanyehui* 南陽勸業會 (Association of Encouraging Employment). By the late 1920s', the business was extended to produce stained glass. It was the first factory for stained glass in China.
- e. Printing Plant: Founded in 1874, it produced texts set in lead type, engravings and five-colour lithographs. The factory printed Chinese and Western books, journals, pictures, manuals and other printed matters.
- f. Photography Studio: Lithographic printing was introduced to Tushanwan Orphanage by the French Jesuit F. Casinziz Hersant 翁相公 in 1874. Subsequently a photographic studio was built, where photographs were taken and reproduced for printing by lithography.

Later on, the orphanage and craft school was disbanded when the Communists began to ban most religious activities in 1953.¹⁵

¹⁴ Photographic portraiture is to make portraits by copying from photographs.

¹⁵ I gather the information about Tushanwan from *Jiangnan yuyingtang ji* 江南育嬰堂記 (Record of Orphanages in Jiangnan), Ch. 2, reprinted in *Xujiahui cangshulou Ming Qing tianzhujiao wenxian* 徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻 (Chinese Christian Texts From the Zikawei Library), vol. 5, p. 2487~2621; Lin Zou 林騶, *Xuhui jilue* 徐匯記略 (Short History of Xuhui), Shanghai: Tushanwan yinshuguan, 1933, Ch. 13; Zhang Hongxing 張弘星, "Zhongguo zuizao de xiyang meishu yaolan—Shanghai tushanwan guer gongyiyuan de yishu shiye 中國最早的西洋美術搖籃—上海土山灣孤兒工藝院的藝術事業" (On the Earliest Cradle of Western Arts and Crafts in China—The Art Studio of Tushanwan Orphanage in Shanghai), *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化, May 1991, no. 87, p. 124~130.

3. Liu Bizhen 劉必振 and His Art

Liu Bizhen 劉必振 (1843~1912), also known as Dezhai 德齋 and Zhuwu shuwu shizhe 竹梧書屋侍者, was a native of Gulicun 古里村, Changshu County 常熟縣 of Suzhou. His family had been converted to Catholicism for generations and had a close relationship with people in Xujiahui 徐家匯. Around 1860, Liu left his hometown for Shanghai. Two years later, he enrolled into the Jesuit novitiate college 耶穌會初學院 and learnt from an Italian Jesuit Chao Deli 晁德莅 (Angelo Zottoli, 1826~1902, the principal of the novitiate monastery and of Xuhui Public School 徐匯公學). Liu Bizhen also studied art with Lu Bodu 陸伯都 (F. Pierre Lo, 1830~1880, a Chinese Catholic monk) and became his assistant in the early 1870s.

According to *Jiangnan yuyingtang ji* 江南育嬰堂記 (Record of Orphanages in Jiangnan), Lu Bodu was asked to come to Tushanwan at one or two o'clock everyday to give lessons on portrait painting to selected orphans there. He taught there until 1869 when Adolphus Vasseur (Chinese known as 范世熙神父, French, 1828~1902) came to paint “Jiangjie wenda shengxiang 講解問答聖像” (Religious Pictures on Questions and Answers). For missionary purposes in Jiangnan 江南 (South of the Yangtze River), Vasseur's paintings were made into black-and-white woodblock prints, which the orphan apprentices would then colour. In 1870, after this work was finished, Liu Bizhen 劉必振 who had learned from Lu Bodu and who had become the assistant director of Painting Studio in 1869, began to teach painting in Tushanwan everyday in place of Lu, while Lu Bodu was busy preparing for the move of the whole Art and Craft School to Tushanwan. By the autumn of 1872, the church finally moved the facility and teachers of the Painting Studio

from Xujiahui to Tushanwan, at this time the Craft and Art School of Tushanwan Orphanage was established. Later, in 1877, the Painting Studio was divided into two departments, and Liu Bizhen was officially appointed to manage the new department of watercolour and ink painting, separate from the old oil painting department conducted by Lu Bodu.¹⁶

Liu Bizhen himself was an important religious painter. His work includes "Portrait of Mary, Mother of God 進教之祐聖母像" for the church in Yushan 余山, which was modelled after the Notre-Dame de la Victoire in Paris, and other oil paintings for the Dongjiadu Church 董家渡大教堂, such as "Portrait of Elijah" and "Portrait of Jonah", which were mostly imitations after Western works. Besides imitating, he also produced creative paintings, such as "Chinese Holy Mother 中華聖母像" whose composition is indebted to a painting in the North Church 北堂 (built by the French Catholic Church) in Beijing, yet Liu transformed his figures into Chinese, so that both Jesus and Maria are in Qing costume and the latter is sitting on a Chinese chair.¹⁷ According to an extant illustration published on the last page of "Xinshi xiangjie 新史像解"(1894), it seems that Liu Bizhen combined the Chinese linear-drawing tradition and the Western method of spatial arrangement, so that his picture presents us with a scene of fresh realism and refined drawing mode of antiquity.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Xujiahui cangshulou Ming Qing tianzhujiao wenxian* 徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻 (Chinese Christian Texts From the Zikawei Library), vol. 5, p. 2503 and 2514.

¹⁷ Zhang Hongxing 張弘星, "Zhongguo zuizao de xiyang meishu yaolan—Shanghai tushanwan guer gongyiyuan de yishu shiye 中國最早的西洋美術搖籃—上海土山灣孤兒工藝院的藝術事業"(On the Earliest Cradle of Western Arts and Crafts in China — The Art Studio of Tushanwan Orphanage in Shanghai), *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化, May 1991, no. 87, p. 127~128.

¹⁸ *Xinshi xiangjie* 新史像解 (New illustrated biography of Jesus), text by Shen Zekuan 沈則寬, Shanghai: Tushanwan yinshuguan, 1894; collection of Shanghai Library.

In addition to Lu Bodu's influence, the French Jesuit Adolphus Vasseur's work might have had some impact on Liu Bizhen and other Tushanwan artists.¹⁹ Vasseur emphasised linear drawing instead of the strong shading technique. His pictures circulated widely in prints, which were copied by his followers of Tushanwan since 1870. According to "Jingshu zongmu 經書總目" (Index of Religious Books) published in Tushanwan (1876), Vasseur published at least six illustrated books, they are "Shengjiao shengxiang quantu 聖教聖像全圖", "Jiushizhu shixing quantu 救世主實行全圖", "Jiushizhu yuxiang quantu 救世主預像全圖", "Yaoli liudian quantu 要理六端全圖", "Meiguijing shiwu duan 玫瑰經十五端", and "Shier zongtu shixing shengxiang 十二宗徒實行聖像". Each book contains between fifteen to sixty illustrations.²⁰

Notably, most of those illustrated books published in 1876 adopted the technique of lithography (石版畫) which was then still quite new to Shanghai.

This lithographic facility was first introduced to and used in Shanghai by the Belgian Jesuit Leopaldus Deleuze 婁良材 (1818~1865) of Tushanwan. As early as mid-1874, Tushanwan had already published a lithographic newspaper *Bobao* 柏報 for Jesuits in the Jiangnan area. It is noted that

¹⁹ From 1870 to the end of Liu Bizhen's life (1912), the Painting Studio of Tushanwan bred several talented artists and produced a great number of works. Some of the apprentices educated in Tushanwan such as 邱子昂 and Li Huilan 李迴瀾 also later worked for *Shen Bao*. The information about Qiu working in Tushanwan has been mentioned by several modern accounts, however, all are cited without any first hand evidence for this source. Li's relationship with Tushanwan is mentioned in a letter from Li Huilan 李迴瀾 to Li Wenyu 李問漁, *Li Wenyu shuzha* 李問漁書札 (Collected letters of Li Wenyu), reprinted in *Xujiahui cangshulou Ming Qing tianzhujiao wenxian* 徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻 (Chinese Christian Texts From the Zikawei Library), vol. 5, p. 2481.

²⁰ *Jingshu zongmu* 經書總目 (Index of Religious Books), Shanghai: Tushanwan, 1876; cited in Zhang Hongxing 張弘星, "Zhongguo zuizao de xiyang meishu yaolan—Shanghai tushanwan guer gongyiyuan de yishu shiye 中國最早的西洋美術搖籃—上海土山灣孤兒工藝院的藝術事業" (On the Earliest Cradle of Western Arts and Crafts in China—The Art Studio of Tushanwan Orphanage in Shanghai), *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化, May 1991, no. 87, p. 128.

Dianshi Studio 點石齋, owned by the most influential and widely-read *Shen Bao* 申報 group, had sent several technicians no later than 1878 to Tushanwan to learn the skill before its new business “Dianshizhai shiye shujie 點石齋石印書局” (The Dianshi Studio lithographic publisher) came to the world officially in 1879.²¹

Ren Bonian was one of the first painters who had his paintings lithographically reproduced in black and white or in colour in Dianshi Studio and offered for sale. The reproduced examples are Ren Bonian's *Qilutu* 騎驢圖 (1879.11.26) and *Shanshui zongtu* 山水總圖 (1884.1.14). When the first volume of *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 (1884) came to meet the eyes of Shanghai public as the first lithographically illustrated newspaper, it opened up a new era of enrichment and growth of the illustrated newspaper. Since 1886, Ren Bonian was also occasionally asked to draw pictures for this new pictorial.

See Wagner !!

Apart from Ren Bonian's own connection, his colleagues, such as Zhang Zhiying 張志瀛, one of the major artists-in-residence of the *Dianshizhai huabao* and Huang Shiquan 黃式權, the author of *Songnan mengyinglu* 淞南夢影錄 (Record of dream images from *Songnan*) had connections with the Jesuits in the Xujiahui Church and occasionally exchanged letters with the Jesuit Li Wenyu 李問漁.²² One of Ren Bonian's frequent patrons Zhang Xianting 章顯廷 (a native of Yuyao, Zhejiang Province) worked as a treasurer

²¹ Regarding when Dianshi Studio invested in the stone-slabs and began its lithographic business, the first advertisement about Dianshi Studio appeared in *Shen Bao*, 1879.5.25. It clearly stated that by 1878 they had obtained the facility for lithographic printing from the West. My special thanks to Professor Rudolf G. Wagner at the University of Heidelberg for providing me with this reference in *Shen Bao*. It is also published in his “Jinru quanqiu xiangxiang tujing: Shanghai de ‘Dianshizhai huabao’ 進入全球想像圖景：上海的《點石齋畫報》”, *Zhongguo xueshu* 中國學術, ed. Liu Dong 劉東, no. 8, 2001, p.9, note 21.

²² *Li Wenyu shuzha* 李問漁書札 (Collected letters of Li Wenyu), reprinted in *Xujiahui cangshulou Ming Qing tianzhujiao wenxian* 徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻 (Chinese Christian Texts From the Zikawei Library), vol. 5, p. 2467, 68, 70.

for Catholic organizations in Shanghai.²³ Although no record exists of interaction between Liu Bizhen and Ren Bonian, yet considering Ren Bonian's close co-operation with *Shen Bao*, and the connection between Tushanwan and *Shen Bao*, it is possible that Ren Bonian knew Liu. In the mid-1870's, Ren Bonian's figure painting indeed reveals an affinity to Western art, as his portrait painting, in particular, showed a hint of practice on Western painting technique.

4. A Technical Change in Ren Bonian's Portraiture

As early as in Ren Bonian's portrait for his teacher Ren Xun 任薰 (1868, Fig. 182, 183), one can easily observe some employment of shading along the right side of face and neck which was different from the rub-in-paint technique that developed by Zeng Jing in the Chinese portraiture tradition. Mixing different pigments and ink, he produced a spectrum of colours capable of creating a strong visual effect similar to watercolour.

His portrait showed an even stronger infiltration of foreign technique after his arrival in Shanghai, in particular works of the mid-1870s, when the Craft and Art School also began to develop rapidly after Liu Bizhen's appointment in the Tushanwan Orphanage.

In Ren Bonian's "Portrait of Wu Gan 吳淦像" (1878, Fig. 184), Wu Gan, a modest calligrapher at the age of 52, is presented with lips pressed tightly together and slightly puffy eyes surrounded by wrinkles, and a look of weariness and seriousness. Compared with his earlier painting of a figure in a

²³ Ding Xiyuan, "Three Interviews Regarding the Study of Ren Bonian", *Mingjia hanmo*, no. 28, May 1992, p. 72.

similar posture, "Portrait of Ge Zhonghua 葛仲華像" (1873, Fig. 185), Ren Bonian obviously showed stronger interest in precision in facial features, anatomy and expressive use of colours.

In the later portrait, Wu Gan's face is rendered with light flesh colour and ink shading that model the muscles precisely and bring out vividly the tensely drawn high cheekbones and gaunt face. The anatomic generosity shown on the face is reminiscent of a sketch manual published by Tushanwan (Fig. 186, late nineteenth century). As with other works Liu Bizhen had edited, for instance *Huishi qianshuo* 繪事淺說 (Easy introduction to painting), this book explains the Western technique and composition step by step with illustrations.²⁴

While the existing corpus shows Ren Bonian's concern for the anatomy of the human face, the heavy robe largely disguises the body position of his sitter. Here Ren Bonian chose to preserve the formal elements of Chinese portraits. As described in *Menghuanju jianming shuhua* 夢幻居簡明書畫 (Explanation on Painting and Calligraphy by Master of the Dream Studio) by Zheng Ji 鄭績, Chinese painters often applied two different techniques: detailed brushwork in drawing the face and blunt brush mode for the garment.²⁵ Likewise, Ren Bonian may have moderated the heavy facial modelling with shading characteristic of European figural painting into a system of layered wash less contradictory to his traditional artistic training.

However traditional Ren Bonian intended to be, the hints of greenish,

²⁴ *Shanghai wenhua tongshi* 上海文化通史 (Cultural History of Shanghai), Chen Bohai 陳伯海 (ed.), Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1995, part 2, p. 1418

²⁵ Reprinted in *Lidai lunhua huibian* 歷代論畫彙編 (Collected essays on painting theory from successive centuries), Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1974, chapter 2, pp.571~575.

purplish, and red colours mixed with ink wash applied along the strokes on the garment, and the light carmine under the lower lip also seem contrived. Such a versatile use of colours is an innovative feature of Ren Bonian's portrait.

Because of social and economical development, foreign pigments began to be imported and used in Shanghai. Pigments from the Western regions and other foreign places had been imported into China long ago through the Northwest trade routes and were later imported by sea in large quantities. After the Opium War, foreign chemical pigments were imported in increasingly large amounts. By the first year of the *Xianfeng* reign (from 1851 on), foreign blue (*yanglan* 洋藍, made in Germany), foreign green (*yangli* 洋綠, Grumbacher brand, made in Germany), and carmine (*yanghong* 洋紅, many types of which were made in Japan, England, and Germany) were used widely. Since they were inexpensive and easy to use, as well as giving good results, those foreign pigments were seen commonly in dyeing textiles, in the coloured paintings done on architecture, and in folk artisan's painting.²⁶ Apart from folk artists, Chinese painters also used the highly refined carmine in paintings in the late nineteenth century.

As a disciple of Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 and being familiar with the Shanghai artists, Pan Tianshou 潘天壽 has pointed out that Ren Bonian was the first person who used the "Western red 西洋紅" (carmine) in Chinese painting.²⁷ Wu Changshuo's habit of applying "Western red 西洋紅"

²⁶ The research on imported pigments is discussed in Yu Feian 于飛閣, *Zhongguohua yance de yanjiu* 中國畫顏色的研究 (Chinese painting colours), Beijing: Zhaohua meishu chubanshe, 1955, p. 72~73; English edition translated by Jerome Silbergeld and Amy McNair, Hong Kong, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1988.

²⁷ *Pan Tianshou yishu suibi* 潘天壽藝術隨筆 (Pan Tianshou's notes on art), edited by Xu Jianrong 徐建融, Shanghai: Wenyi chubanshe, 2001, p. 112.

(carmine) into his subject was inherited from Ren Bonian.

Although we are not certain whether Ren Bonian was indeed the first person to employ carmine in traditional Chinese painting, the use of carmine was surely popular among Shanghai painters in the 1880s. At the latest by 1882, Zhang Zixiang 張子祥, a senior friend of Ren Bonian who guided Ren when the latter first arrived in Shanghai, had already given a detailed explanation on the usage of the Western red pigment in bird-and-flower paintings in his “Zhang Zixiang xiansheng zhuose yaozhi 張子祥先生著色要旨” (Master Zhang Zixiang’s method of application of colour, Fig. 187).²⁸

Also in *Shen Bao* 申報, there frequently appeared advertisements for Western painting supplements, such as advertisements of auctions of carmine pigment and other foreign goods (Fig. 188, 1878).²⁹

The availability and convenience of foreign pigments enabled Shanghai painters to build a colourful, pleasing and vigorous temperament and visual immediacy in their bird-and flower work, for which they have always been famed.

The best use of colour is represented in a “Portrait of the Poverty-Stricken Military Official 酸寒尉像” (Fig. 189, Portrait of Wu Changshuo, 1888). In the picture, the sitter’s garment is rendered with boneless, pure colouring. This technique is indebted to the “mogu 沒骨” (boneless) style of bird-and-flower painting, yet such an application is fresh in Chinese figure painting. The visual effect resembles that in Western watercolours.

²⁸ Zhang Zixiang’s painting manual was published in Shanghai, 1882; reprinted Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984.

²⁹ *Shen Bao*, 1878.10.20, “Auction on Monday 禮拜一拍賣”.

Thus, Ren Bonian went a step further to expand the scope of the portrait painting. He insisted on using the media favoured by the Chinese, namely lines and washes when depicting the skeletal and muscular structure of the figure. Without too much emphasis on the contrast of light and dark, Ren Bonian reconciled Chinese and Western representational methods and media, and his results look harmonious.

Other than the keen usage of anatomy and colour, Ren Bonian also showed his interest in exploring the Western sketch technique with the Chinese brush. The "Portrait of an Anonymous Figure" (Fig. 190, undated) was rendered in light ink with a hint of ochre. The painter attempted to capture the three-dimensional volume of the folds of the figure's drapery and the angles on the nose by shading, although the figure was drawn with brush lines which recall the traditional Chinese *baimiao* 白描 technique (line drawing). However, the hard, precise strokes of the lotus pattern of the robe echo the visual effects used in engravings. The face is rather sculptural, and the fluid washes on each fold to suggest the light and dark side also betray a Chinese sensitivity.

In addition to the reminiscence of charcoal drawing technique, this portrait carries something of the implicit physicality that most distinguishes Ren's work from more traditional kinds of Chinese portraits.

The sitter's eyes are directed rather absently towards the viewer, his smoothly shaven face shows no hint of moustache or wrinkles. The sitter's right hand, holding a branch of plum blossom, is half hidden under the voluminous folds of an unusual robe with embroidered floral pattern on both sleeves. The pair of clogs worn underneath recall the geta worn by the

Japanese in a print by Wu Youru 吳友如 (Fig. 194, *Haiguo tushuo* 海國圖說) and in his contemporary photograph of Japanese (Fig. 195, photo of Wu Changshuo and his Japanese friend). As the painting bears no inscription to name the sitter, it is as difficult to tell its identity as to divine the thoughts in the painter's mind. One might also wonder whether this dramatic portrait was consciously plotted to be a role-play, to echo the fashion of studio photography, such as the tableau in which the Empress Dowager Cixi played the role of Guanyin (Fig. 196) and studio portraits such as those by M. Miller or W. Saunders (Figs. 192, 197)?³⁰

Richard Vinograd has made a suggestion concerning Ren Bonian's awareness of photography: "Ren Bonian's pictorial grouping of the Three Friends has a striking photographic counterpart in the somewhat earlier image of three high government officials by John Thomson, titled by him the Government of China."³¹ In this "Portrait of Three Friends 三友圖" (Fig. 200, 1883) the three sitters are seated on the floor in an almost empty background, wearing monk-like white robes and facing towards the viewer instead of having eye contact with each other. Their pose and the direct interaction between three sitters and the viewer, reminds us of figures in Qing photographs (Figs. 198, 199). If Ren Bonian was aware of the new technology, in what ways did photography affect Ren Bonian's portraiture?

³⁰ We can find numerous examples of role-play photos taken in the studio in the following books: Rainer Fabian & Hans-Christian Adam, *Master of Early Travel Photography*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1983; L. Carrington Goodrich & Nigel Cameron, *The Face of China as Seen by Photographers & Travellers, 1860-1912*, New York: Aperture, 1978; John Thomson, *China and Its People in Early Photographs* (an unabridged Reprint of the Classic 1873/4 Work), New York: Dover, 1982; Clark Worswick & Jonathan Spence, *Imperial China — Photographs 1850-1912*, New York: Pennwick, 1978.

³¹ R. Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, p.143-4.

5. Photography and Portraiture

After the Nanjing Treaty, western science was introduced to China widely, including photography that came along with the merchants and foreign diplomats. In Beijing, photographs were taken in the court. The Empress Dowager seemed to be extremely fond of this new toy and constantly posed for it (Fig. 196).

In other international cities, such as Guangzhou, Fuzhou and Shanghai, photography seems to have been more fashionable, less exclusive, and available to the public.³² In *Henghuaguan riji* 蘅華館日記 (Diary of Henghua Studio) on the third day of the month, the ninth year of Xianfeng (1859), Wang Tao wrote about his impression on encountering photographs for the first time:

This morning, I went to see paintings at the Qiyunguan in town with Xiaoyi, Uncle Wang and Ruoting. I saw the images of two diplomats Gui Liang and Hua Shana also in display. Luo Yuanyou, a Cantonese painter, served as an accountant for the previous governor Wu Jianzhang (of Shanghai) before. Now he has learnt the "Western method of painting" from Westerners, and the price of a

³² Several studies on the history of Chinese photography have been published. Chen Shen 陳申, *Qingdai sheying shiliao suoji* 清代攝影史料瑣輯 (Collected notes on the history of Qing photography), Beijing: Zhongguo sheying xiehui, 1990; Zheng Zhaochu 鄭肇初, "Guangdong sheyingjie de kaishanzu 廣東攝影界的開山祖" (Pioneers of photography in Guangdong), *Sheying zazhi* 攝影雜誌 (Journal of photography), 1922.6; *Shanghai sheyingshi* 上海攝影史 (History of Photography in Shanghai), edited by the Photographic Association of Shanghai and Faculty of Literature at Shanghai University, Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992.

print is not so expensive. The resulting image is so realistic; even each hair of the eyebrows is clearly shown. His technique is far better than that of the Frenchman Li Gelang.

晨同小異、王叔、若汀入城往栖雲館觀畫影。見桂(良)、花(沙納)二星使之像皆在焉。畫師羅元佑，粵人，曾爲前任道台吳建彰司會計。今從西人得受西法畫，影價不甚昂，而眉毛清晰，無不酷肖，勝於法人李閣郎多矣。³³

This passage suggests that by the late 1850s', there was a Chinese-owned photo studio in Shanghai, and photos of famous people such as the two diplomats mentioned above were being used for advertisement. While Wang Tao and his friends treated it as a big event and were impressed by the realistic style brought by the new technology, it also shows how little Wang Tao knew about photography by calling the photographer "painter" and photography "the Western method of painting". Three years later, in the *Yinruan zazhi* 瀛壖雜誌 by the same author, Wang Tao was able to explain the technique of photography in lengthy detail. A poem recited by him hints at the popularity of photography and suggests that photographs present a better, more realistic

³³ Gui Liang and Hua Shana represented the Qing government at the *Tianjin Treaty* in June of 1858. Ligelang 李閣郎, the Chinese name of a French photographer active in Shanghai during 1850s, was Danis Louis Legrand (or Le Grand, both spellings are used in official records, 1820~?), known as Louis. His name appeared for the first time in 1856 as a Shanghai resident employed by the French merchant Rémi, Schmidt & Cie in *Shanghai Directory for 1857*. He was the owner of Legrand Frères & Co., a business firm of watch and clockmaking, and photography. A detailed research of Ligelang's work see Régine Thiriez, "Ligelang: A French Photographer in 1850s Shanghai", *Orientalism*, vol. 32, no. 9, Nov. 2001, pp. 49~54.

and natural result than portraits.³⁴

Besides Wang Tao's account, the advertisements for photography that appeared frequently in *Shen Bao* suggest the competition between several studios in 1872. Price and the clear effect were the major attractions for the customers.³⁵

³⁴ *Yinruan zazhi* 瀛壖雜誌 was first published in 1862 and re-edited in 1871. The account on photography is written in chapter 6, page 10; reprint by Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1966, p. 174~5.

³⁵ The first issue of *Shen Bao* came out on the 23rd of the third month, the 11th year of Tongzhi 同治 (1872. 4.30). The first advertisements for photography appeared on several occasions soon. These advertisements read:

1. **"Photography.** To Readers: Our photos are different from others for their exceptional clarity. If any guest of honour is interested, it would not be wrong to come to us under the signboard at Sanma Road. Our prices are also very reasonable. The special announcement is made by the owner of Sanxing on the twenty-fifth of the third month. 照相。啓者。本號照相與眾不同，格外清明。倘貴客光顧者，請至三馬路口，認明本招牌，庶不有誤。其價格外公道，特此布告。三興主人啓。三月二十五日" (*Shen Bao*, 1872.5.2~1872.5.10)

2. **"Yichang Photography.** To Readers: Our studio is located in the middle of Sima Road, the first shop on the corner of Jiangxi Road. Different from others, our photos are extremely clear, our prices are very reasonable. Hope you check our signboard if any guest of honour likes to come. Announcement made by Yichang. 宜昌照相。啓者。本舖開設四馬路中，江西路隔壁轉角起首老舖。照相十分清楚，價錢格外公道，與前不同。尊客光顧者，望認明本舖招牌是荷。此佈。宜昌啓" (*Shen Bao*, 1872.10.12~1872.10.22)

3. **"Photography.** To Readers: our technique of photography was taught by Westerners, the method is very refined. Without counting our profit, we added gold, silver and other expensive chemicals alike during the process, wishing to make the image long lasting. The colour is bright, it will not fade in the long run. Our price is also reasonable. Whoever is interested, please come to us at Sanma Road. Announced by Su Sanxing. 照相。啓者。本號照相係西人傳授，其法精工，且於用料加金水銀水等貴物，勿惜工本，蓋欲圖久遠，故著色鮮豔，日後亦不退色，且價公道。如欲意者，請賜光顧可也。三馬路口，蘇三興啓。" (*Shen Bao*, 1873.1.1~1873.1.10)

4. **"Newly Opened Photography Studio.** To Readers: our little studio has learned photography from Westerners. Different from old studios, the chemicals we use are genuine, the result is very clear and the price is appropriate. We are having reduction for ten days for the new opening. Any guest of honour who is interested in coming, please go to Chipan Street, north of Haili Foreign Textile Shop. Twenty-seventh of the twelfth month, announced

In the mid-1870's, many photos of famous actors and courtesans were made for sale (Fig. 201). "Photography which shows every detail makes people mistake it for the real subject," writes Ge Yuanxu 葛元煦: "It transmits the spirit [of the sitter] better than painting. Therefore, customers seeking pleasure fight to buy photos, and only pay visits to women whom they find attractive in the photos. 顯微攝影喚真真，較勝丹青妙入神。客爲探春爭購取，要憑圖畫訪佳人。"³⁶ Photography here has served as advertisement for commercial purposes in brothels and theatres (Fig. 202).

By 1884, news relating to photography was appearing quite frequently in *Dianshizhai huabao*. Photography was not only available to officials, rich people and public figures such as courtesans and actors, but also to common people including housewives and unmarried ladies. Ren Bonian also had his picture taken, and one photograph kept by his descendants was taken at his age of 49 (Fig. 204, 1888), and was later on translated into oil painting by Xu Beihong (Fig. 205). While it was photography that gained popularity for its factual representation of the subject, the fashion of preferring the precise, realistic image more or less stimulated the general taste in painting and applied art. The photograph-like illustrations in *Dianshizhai huabao* presented the events and customs of Shanghai as well as the new trend in pursuit of realistic representation.

However, early photography had its own technical limits, for example it

by Huaxing. 新開照相樓。啓者。小號今得洋人傳授照相，藥料真實，照相十分清楚，與前不同，價錢相宜，於新正減價十天。貴客賜顧者，請到棋盤街口，海利洋布舖北首便是。十二月廿七，華興啓。" (*Shen Bao*, 1873.1.25~1873.2.15). All of these advertisements stressed the reasonable price and clear effect of photos to readers.

³⁶ *Huyou zaji* 滬游雜記 (Notes on Journeys in Shanghai), part II, chapter 3, p. 26; reprinted in Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1968.

was difficult to keep the tones bright for years, and the size of prints was rather small. Thus during the mid-nineteenth century, artists began to copy photographs for the export trade in the south. While photographs have been applied to record a momentary movement, the portrait painter could follow the image and paint an enlarged picture in a more permanent medium. Based on photography, the painter could also make a portrait of the deceased with great accuracy for memorial convenience. For living subjects, sitters would not need to pose for a long series of sittings in order to have their portrait made. Such a photographic method was very popular and well-known in the south China, such as in Fujian and Guangdong. A photograph of a Cantonese painter (Fig. 203, 1860) working on a portrait painting copied from a photograph held in his left hand strongly suggests the marriage between photography and portraiture. Such a combination of the two techniques was mainly for commercial purposes.

Although most of Ren Bonian's portraits were painted for friends and were thus not for sale, the three extant images of Jiang Shinong 姜石農 (1827~?, magistrate of Suzhou district) may be perhaps read as having a connection with photographic portraiture (Figs. 206~208).

In 1877, Ren Bonian painted three portraits for Jiang Shinong's fiftieth birthday. Two pictures were lightly coloured and the third was drawn with ink only. Each portrait has a different background setting, whilst the facial drawing remains the same and the postures in all three pictures are alike. However, it looks as if Ren Bonian has a model image of Jiang Shinong's face (perhaps a photograph) at hand, he multiplied Jiang's portraits into three or more, then inserted the versatile background scenes not based on the true

environment but arranged either by the painter or at the patron's request. While the marriage between photography and portraiture was also widely adopted in the port cities in China and in Japan, the impact of photography may have been rather more influential conceptually than overtly in the sense of a "photographic portrait" in the case of Ren Bonian and his Shanghai contemporaries.

6. Conflicts of Accepting Scientific Reality

The concessions extorted from China, including the cession of Hong Kong and the opening of selected ports to foreign trade, provided an object lesson in how Western military strength could make a mockery of national isolation. Some governors suggested the government turn to the task of modernising the nation. "If we understand their methods", writes Li Hongzhang 李鴻章, "can we not expect that after a century or so we can reject the barbarian and stand on our own feet?"³⁷

Since the beginning of the Meiji period (1868), modernisation occurred at a fantastic pace in China's great opponent and cousin — Japan. It was marked as much by an indiscriminate adoption of Western institutions, customs and ideas as by an equally indiscriminate disdain for all things Japanese.

As early as the mid-eighteenth century, Japanese artists began to pay attention to Western perspective and method. Several books were published

³⁷ Cited in L. Carrington & Nigel Cameron, *The Face of China (1860-1912)*, New York: Aperture, 1978, p. 87

on Western technique and painting education, for instance *Dai-gahôsho* 大画法書 (Method of great painting, 1740, Kôbe City Museum 神戸市立博物館); *Kaitai yakuzu* 解體約圖 (text by Sugita Genpaku and others 杉田玄白他, illustrations by Kumagai Motoaki 熊谷元章, 1773, 5 leaves of woodblock prints, 38.6 x 26.6 cm, Akita Senshu Museum of Art 秋田市立千秋美術館); *Kaitai shinsho* 解體新書 (text by Sugita Genpaku and others 杉田玄白他, illustrations by Odano Naotake 小田野直武, 1774, Akita Senshu Museum of Art 秋田市立千秋美術館); and *Shaseicho* 寫生帖 (by Satake Shôzan 佐竹曙山, 1778, 3 volumes, 34 x 26.3 cm, Akita Senshu Museum of Art 秋田市立千秋美術館).³⁸ In the last example, Western style, technique and media were well explained to Japanese readers through detailed illustration before the nineteenth-century. In response to the strong urge of modernising the nation in all aspects during the mid-nineteenth century, Japanese painters such as Takahashi Yûichi 高橋由一 (1828~1894, Fig. 209, Self-Portrait, 1886~7) and Kawakami Tôgai 川上冬崖 (1827~1881, Fig. 210, photograph) rapidly devoted themselves to learning oil painting, Western style and media. Through the introduction of Kishida Ginkô 岸田銀香 (1823~1905, Fig. 211, Portrait of Ginkô by Kishida Ryûsei 岸田劉生, 1925; Fig. 212, Letter from Kishida Ginkô to Takahashi Yûichi), the Japanese journalist, publisher, owner of Leshan tang 樂善堂 (the Western pharmacy in Shanghai), Takahashi Yûichi 高橋由一, Kawakami Tôgai 川上冬崖 and other Japanese painters could exchange their learning in art with Hu Gongshou 胡公壽, Zhang Zixiang 張子祥, Yu Qianyun 余倩雲 and others during their trip to Shanghai in 1867 and

³⁸ These illustrations of early printed manuals are available in *Akita Ranga ten* 秋田蘭畫展, an exhibition catalogue by Akita Senshu Museum of Art, Kenzo Okada Memorial, 1990, p. 76~77 and 94~95.

afterwards (Fig. 213; Fig. 214 ~ 218, illustrated Shanghai Journal).³⁹ By combining the traditional practice of Chinese literary painting and the Western technique and medium, Takahashi Yūichi (Fig. 219~222 Photographic Portraiture), and Kawakami Tōgai applied Western techniques and media to Japanese subject-matter, then later became masters of *Yōga* 洋畫 (Western-style painting) and photography-based hyper-realist portraiture.⁴⁰ It was also owing to the pursuit of scientific spirit, the rise of popular taste in foreign applications, critics opposed to the old system and the support of new Meiji governors that encouraged the rapid movement of Westernising Japanese painting.

Although Chinese had more contact with the West and more western books were imported and translated into Chinese than into Japanese in the early Qing dynasty, only a few works on painting theory, such as *Shixue* 視學 (Study of Visual Aspect, 1729, Figs. 223, 224; Fig. 225) by Nian Xiyao 年希堯 (?~1738) on Western perspective, were published in China before the

What about 轉錄
 article: 伏流潛借: 1870 年以前の日清關係
 文化情報院 中日本無分 (美術史研究 2003. 14)
 2003
 77

³⁹ Takahashi Yūichi's "Shanghai Nikki" (Shanghai Journal, 1867) recording his visit to Shanghai with illustrations, is in the collection of Tokyo Art University Library.

Kishida Ginkō 岸田銀香 (1833~1905), also known as Ginkō 吟香 or Ginji 銀次, played a role as a intermediary between Chinese and Japanese cultural circles in the late nineteenth century. During 1860~80, he worked for Japanese journals, such as "Yokohama Shino 橫濱新報" and "Tokyo Tachigori Shinbun 東京日日新聞", in this field he was known for military reporting and the use of photography. Kishida Ginkō was also an important sponsor for the Ri Qing maoyi yanjiusuo 日清貿易研究所 (Research Institute of Trading Between Japan and Qing) and Dongya tongwen hui 東亞同文會 (Community of South Eastern Asia) in China. One of Kishida Ginkō's children Kishida Ryūsei 岸田劉生 became a leading master of Western style painting in twentieth-century Japan. Kishida Ginkō is also the author of another diary with the same title *Shanghai Nikki* 上海日記, which offers a valuable historical account on the cultural and economical interactions between China and Japan before Sino-Japanese War. The unpublished draft is now collected in National Tokyo Congress Library 東京國會圖書館.

⁴⁰ Doris Ledderose-Croissant gave an important account on conflicts that Takahashi Yūichi and his contemporary artistic fellows had endured in the construct of Meiji thoughts. See Doris L. Croissant, "Under the Spell of the Real: Portraiture and Photography in Early Modern Japan", *Challenging Past and Present: The Metamorphosis of Japanese Art in the Nineteenth Century*, Ellen P. Conant ed., University of Hawaii Press (forthcoming).

nineteenth century.⁴¹ While the Chinese folk arts, export porcelain and new year prints for example, began to respond to the Western stimuli since the eighteenth century, the oil painting and realistic style did not develop spontaneously in works of literary and professional painters in the Jiangnan arena.

It was after the Opium War that the introduction of scientific and technological translations was given extra impetus by the training schools that were developed along with the new arsenals opened during the first phase of the *zhiqiang yundong* 自強運動 (the self-strengthening movement). By the late 1870's, other Western scholars had prepared Chinese texts on electricity, inorganic chemistry, the steam engine, lathes, trigonometrical surveying, navigation, and photography.⁴²

While engraved illustrations circulated in translation of religious and scientific books, the adroit-minded Shanghai press soon adopted such usage of Western pictures and photographs in the foreign quarters. A lot of the engraved pictures in *Xiaohai yuebao* 小孩月報 (1875), *Huanying Huabao* 瀛寰畫報 (1877), *Tuhua xinbao* 圖畫新報 (1880) and *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 (1884) recollected and copied the Western pictorial sources, for example the "Portrait of Zeng Jize 曾紀澤" (Fig. 226) published in *Dianshizhai huabao* (No. 20, 1884.5.27) is a copy after a Western picture (Fig. 227) in the

⁴¹ This book is based on Andrea del Pozzo (1642~1709), *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum*, published in 1693 and 1700. For full illustrations and comparisons of these two books, see "*Chūgoku no yōfuga*" ten, Kōno Hinou ed., Tokyo: Shimbun, 1995, p. 449~471.

⁴² For example, see the chart of the texts translated in Jiangnan zhizaoju 江南製造局 before 1900 in Xiong Yuezhi's 熊月之 *Xixue dongjian yu wan Qing shehui* 西學東漸與晚清社會 (The transmission of Western learning to the East and late Qing society), Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1994, p. 538~550

London Illustrated News 插圖倫敦新報 (1884.1.5).⁴³ Besides the increasing publications of illustrated newspaper which were relating to the religious books, the visibility of Western Art might more or less have influenced the Chinese appreciation and curiosity concerning Western drawing style. Since the beginning of 1873 (the twelfth month fourth day, *renshen* 壬申 year), we began to find advertisements of Western paintings for sale in *Shen Bao* (Fig. 228). Besides, Ernest Major, owner of *Shen Bao*, published an album consisting of 18 copper engravings in 1876. As stated in the advertisement, those engravings of Chinese and foreign landscapes by famous English artists were made in great detail and accuracy with added Chinese inscriptions.⁴⁴ In 1878, another advertisement for foreign paintings appeared on the first few lines of the front page of *Shen Bao*. It stressed that foreign artists had an excellence in painting skill that was much superior to the traditional Chinese technique. Moreover, it mentions the fragility of Chinese mineral pigments falling so easily and then guarantees that the Western colours used in these pictures will still keep their freshness after decades.⁴⁵ From engravings to Western paintings (perhaps both watercolours and oil paintings), such advertisements suggest a high availability and visibility of Western art in Shanghai. The popularity and success of Western pictures provided by *Shen Bao* also indicates the public's interest in and acceptance of the new imported medium. Considering the popularity of those westernised illustrations in made by Ren's

⁴³ Noted in Rudolf G. Wagner, "Jinru quanqiu xiangxiang tujing: Shanghai de 'Dianshizhai huabao' 進入全球想像圖景：上海的《點石齋畫報》", *Zhongguo xueshu* 中國學術, ed. Liu Dong 劉東, no. 8, 2001, p.63~68. Zeng Jize spent seven years in Europe from 1878 as minister to England and France, and to Russia. His term as minister to France ended in the spring of 1884 and he was recalled to China in 1885. See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Dynasty*, p. 746~7.

⁴⁴ *Shen Bao*, 1876.5.26, p. 1. The price for one album is two foreign *jiao*.

⁴⁵ *Shen Bao*, 1878.10.21, p.1. The price is 1.5 foreign *jiao* for each painting. Since 1878, such advertisements appeared frequently in *Shen Bao*.

colleagues, it might perhaps suggest that the public's taste gradually moved towards a fresh visual immediacy of scientific reality brought by Western art and technology. This employment in painting might perhaps have stimulated Ren Bonian's growing interest in photographic likeness and detailed description, reflecting his pursuit of scientific reality. However, one might wonder why Ren Bonian and other Shanghai painters did not completely move to oil painting and Western subjects like the Japanese painters already mentioned above?

In Shanghai a number of Ren Bonian's colleagues and friends, for instance, Wang Tao 王韜 (1828~1897, scholar, translator, political critic and keen reformer) and Hu Zhang 胡璋 (1848~1899, self-styled as Tiemei 鐵梅, artist and the manager of Guxiangshi fan shop), Chen Honggao 陳鴻誥 (before 1850 ~ 1884, self-styled as Manshou 曼壽) and Wang Yin 王寅 (c. 1829~after 1892, known as Yemai 冶梅,) travelled and sold their paintings in Japan, and Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821~1907, self-styled as Quyuan 曲園), Xu Run 徐潤 (1837~1911, self-styled as Yuzhi 雨之, Yuzhai 愚齋) and Yang Borun 楊伯潤 (self-styled as Peifu 佩甫, Nanhu 南湖) who had close connections with Japan and the West must have been aware of such approaches and reforms.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Wang Tao (1828~1897) was the author and translator of several important publications on suggesting early Chinese reform. He had been to Hong Kong, Europe and Japan, and finally made Shanghai his home in 1884. Xu Run, a native of Xiangshan of Canton, was an active entrepreneur in Shanghai. He was a frequent patron of the Chinese Polytechnic Institute — Gezhi shuyuan 格致書院 and invited Wang Tao to be the dean of the institute. Xu was also a founder of Tongwen shuju 同文書局 which introduced translated work to Shanghai readers. Xu's autobiography is reprinted as *Xu Yuzhai zixu nianpu* 徐愚齋自敘年譜, ed. Tao Xusheng, Taipei: Shihuo chubanshe, 1977. Hu Tiemei (ibid., Chapter Four, Part I, p. 134~135, note 20), travelled to Japan and married a Japanese. He was the manager of Guxiangshi 古香室 fanshop, and established *Su Bao* 蘇報 (Su newspaper) in support of the reform movement led by Kang Youwei 康有為. After the failure of *Weixin yundong* 維新運動, he escaped to Japan and died there. Hu Gongshou, a well-known artist, had close connections with the Money Association, Wang Tao, the Japanese journalist and critic Kishida Ginkō and people who worked for Jiangnan jiqi zhizaoju 江南機器製造局. The calligraphy for the book cover of

However, the reform and complete Westernisation in both politics and art did not occur in China in Ren Bonian's time. To Chinese critics, they considered Japan had tried too hard to imitate Western countries to keep their own identity. Wu Youru even composed a satirical picture of Japan adoring Westerners so much that Japanese not only changed their traditional costume into European clothing, but also tried to enlarge their eyes and heighten their noses so as to look like Westerners (Fig. 229).

Under the phenomenon of refusal of complete westernisation, Shanghai painters could only show their interest in Western art and modestly apply the shading technique and the focused viewpoint in their work. In *Sunset at Lake Tai* 具區湧金 by Wu Guxiang 吳穀祥 (1848~1903), (Fig. 231, 1887), a red sun is about to set on the horizon. The evening glow above and the glittering light on the lake complement each other to form a large, rosy expanse. The ripples of the water have been depicted with extremely refined brushwork. A strong hint of light is given here by these decorative ripples which are similar

the translated text *Tantian* 譚天 on astronomy was written by Hu Gongshou for his friend Li Shanlan 李善蘭 (1810~1882) a mathematician and scientist, was also a translator in Jiangnan Jiqi Zhizaoju 江南機器製造局. His translated work includes Augustus de Morgan's *Elements of Algebra* of 1835; published in Chinese in 1859, Shanghai.

Chen Honggao had been to Japan and exchanged poems with Japanese friend. Roberta May-Hua Wue gave a very detailed study on the biography and his role as a glamorous figure in Shanghai's social whirl in her "Transmitting Poetry: Ren Bonian's Portrait of Chen Honggao and Chen Hui-juan", *Haipai huihua yanjiu wenji* 海派繪畫研究文集 (Studies on Shanghai School Painting), 2001, p. 1102~1135.

Wang Yin's visit and activities in Japan are discussed in Tsuruta Takeyoshi, "Study of a Chinese Painter who Came to Japan in the Early Meiji Period — Wang Yin", *Bijutsu Kenkyu*, March 1982, no. 319, p. 1~11.

Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821~1907), a well-known scholar, wrote a preface for a printed painting manual by Ren Bonian, *Ren Bonian zhenji huapu* 任伯年真跡畫譜 (Manual Book of Authentic Painting of Ren Bonian), 1887; reprinted by Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1982), had strong relationships with Japanese scholars and publishers. He edited *Dongying shixuan* 東瀛詩選 (Collected poetry of the eastern sea, 1884), an anthology of poems by Japanese authors, collected by Kishida Ginkō (1833~1905). There are also letters exchanged between Yu Yue and other Japanese monks and scholars collected in *Dongying yimo—jindai Zhong Ri wenhua jiaoliu xi jian shillao jizhu* 東瀛遺墨—近代中日文化交流稀見史料輯注 (Leftover ink of the eastern sea — rare historical records on cultural exchange between China and Japan in recent centuries), ed. Li Qing, Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1999, p. 81~96.

to the shading technique of engravings. This work is rare in the realm of traditional form. The same can be said of "Guanyin 觀音" (Fig. 232, 1908) by Qian Huian 錢慧安 (1833~1911) in which Guanyin in a white robe is carrying a small child in her arms. The forceful brushwork has been used to delineate the figures. The contrast between dark and light is made more distinct by additional shading along each stroke. Such a technique gave the subjects a rather vital and three-dimensional effect. And the subject also reminds us of the Christian image of the Virgin carrying the Christ child. Even Wu Youru, the artist famous for his realistic drawing style in Western subjects for the pictorials, seemed rather conservative in the genre of ink painting. In his "Children at Play 嬰戲圖" (Fig. 230), the contrast between dark and light is carefully rendered on the bronze vase in the left corner and the reflected images of children leaning over the bath tub are vividly presented, the accuracy and realistic reflection echo Wu Youru's familiarity with Western imagery and representation. Wu's subject is a traditional Song Dynasty theme in which usually at least one child is actually in the bath and being washed by ladies. But here the children are not in the bath but looking at their reflections. Wu uses the high viewpoint and principle of reflection to enliven and modernise this old subject. The Western treatment presented itself quietly just like the child, whose figure is partly hidden by the screen, curiously looking from behind at the noisily playing children.

Unlike Takahashi Yūichi of Japan, or Cantonese export portrait painters of late nineteenth century, Ren Bonian did not move completely from traditional ink painting to Western oil painting. As Ge Yuanxu commented on Cantonese oil painting:

*You need to address 郭元序's
claim of Japanese impact
on 19th c even if you disagree!*
234

Cantonese painters applied Western drawing methods and oil painting medium with five colours to landscapes, and figurative pictures. In half-length portraits, the face is normally six or seven inches long. These paintings present the spirit of reality, and keep well for a long time. Unfortunately, their deficiency is a lack of the savour of scholarly learning.

粵人效西洋畫法以五彩油畫山水人物，或半截小影，面長六七寸，神采儼然，且可經久，惜少書卷氣耳。⁴⁷

In the last sentence of Ge Yuanxu's account on oil painting is the clear comment "their deficiency is a lack of the savour of scholarly learning". It shows a stereotype and prejudice grounded in the long literary tradition of the Jiangnan arena. Even though this tradition was in decline during the late imperial era, the development of painting in Shanghai was still more or less under its influence and the ideal painter's practice in Ren Bonian's time still leaned upon scholarly training.

As for Ren Bonian, it is recorded by Zhang Jingfu 章敬夫 (1814~1915) recorded Ren Bonian's remarks on the contemporary national situation:

I privately lament with sighs for the officials of the

⁴⁷ Ge Yuanxu 葛元煦, *Huyou zaji* 滬游雜記, chapter 2, p.3.

present day who adopt the barbarian way to reconstruct the Xia (Ancient China). They have grown accustomed to changing everything, to the extent that they undermine rights and liberty...For what reason, does the way of world change day by day like water flowing?

...竊有慨今世士大夫，用夷變夏，習與俱化，甚至倡平權自由之說。...何世變日移，滔滔是也?⁴⁸

By regarding foreigners as “barbarians”, this passage shows that Ren Bonian’s attitude toward Westernisation remained quite cautious and conservative. Perhaps it was his vigilance and strong Chinese identity that held him back from adopting Western oil painting or subject-matter indiscriminately, even though he was interested in the vital effect resulting from Western painting technique.

It was after the Sino-Japanese War (1895) that China finally recognised the need to reform the nation and acted aggressively. In correspondence with modernisation, critics began to suggest a reform of Chinese painting by combining Western and Chinese traits. Kang Youwei 康有為 wrote:

Owing to the fallacious theory in art, Chinese painting has declined exceedingly in recent times... [I write] specially to rectify it. Spirit represented through

⁴⁸ Ren Bonian, “Wulun tu 五倫圖” (Five Relations, 1880, inscribed by Zhang Jingfu, collection unknown.) Source: Ding Xiyan, *Ren Bonian — nianpu, lunwen, zhuopin, zhencun*, Shanghai, 1989, p. 46

form-likeness should be the major emphasis instead of the *xie-yi* style; the coloured painting should be the orthodox, the black-and-white picture with blunt simple brushwork the second... in our day, business and industrial products depend on illustration [for advertisement]. Without reforms in painting, industry and commerce would not improve.

中國近世之畫衰敗極矣，概由畫論之謬也...今特矯正之。以形神爲主，而不取寫意；以著色畫爲正，而以墨筆粗簡者爲別派。...今工商百器皆藉于畫，畫不改進，工商無可言。⁴⁹

Kang went on to comment:

Painting of the Present Dynasty

Chinese painting has declined exceedingly in our dynasty.... The art of the Jesuit Giuseppe Castiglione came from Western method. In the future there should be someone who combines both Western and Chinese art, and becomes a true master. Japanese have been praising Castiglione as a founder and exemplar to follow. Chinese painting will die out if we keep on the tradition (of Southern School) without reform. Have we not any

⁴⁹ Preface of *Wanmucaotang cang Zhongguo huamu* 萬目草堂藏中國畫目 (List of Painting in the collection of Thatched Hut of Ten-thousand Trees), 1917; reprinted by Jiang Guilin 蔣貴麟, Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1977.

talented people who could cope with the new trend and create a fresh era of painting by uniting the Western and Chinese learning together? We very much expect it to happen.

國朝畫

中國畫學至國朝而衰弊極矣。...郎世寧乃出西法，他日當有合中西而成大家者，日本已力講，當以郎世寧爲太祖。若仍守舊不變，則中國畫學，應遂滅絕。國人豈無英絕之士，應運而興，合中西而爲畫學新紀元者，其在今乎？吾斯望矣。⁵⁰

In Kang Youwei's opinion, he regarded painting which presented its subject accurately as valuable, and work in the blunt, sketchy mode less worthy. Therefore, he thought highly of Castiglione who first sought a harmonious reunion of the Western drawing technique, perspective and Chinese media, and brought about a fresh, realistic visual effect in Chinese painting. Moreover, in some notes on his collection of "Song oil painting", he even claimed that oil painting was originally invented in China!⁵¹

⁵⁰ Ibid., Kang Youwei, p.94.

⁵¹ Ibid., Kang Youwei, p.94. In Kang Youwei's claim, he cites several Song paintings by Yi Yuanji 易元吉, Song Xie 宋解, Zhao Yongnian 趙永年, Gong Ji 龔吉 and Chen Gongchu 陳公儲 as oil paintings among his collection. He therefore claimed "Oil painting was original from our country for the old Chinese oil painting is completely the same as European painting. I think it was Marco Polo who brought Chinese oil painting to Europe, then Raphael developed it. According to my observation on European academic painting, they did not have any oil painting before the fifteenth century. So I made this claim, people after me will approve my statement. Even if Europe had oil painting in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, it must have come after Marco Polo's journey. 油畫與歐畫全同，乃之油畫出自吾國。吾意馬哥波羅得中國油畫，傳至歐洲，而後基多璉膩拉非爾乃發之。觀歐人畫院之畫，十五世紀前無油畫可據，此吾創論，後人當可證明之。即歐人十四紀十三紀有油畫，亦在馬可波羅後耳。"

While in the early Qing dynasty, Western painting that exhibited a scientific reality was considered by Zou Yigui 鄒一桂 merely as craftsmanship and belonging to no category.⁵² By the late imperial age, Kang Youwei stated loudly his praise for the accuracy in Western art, and his fiery argument disagreed with the long tradition based on the orthodox southern school of painting. It is quite shocking that he claimed that oil painting came from ancient China and that Song painters had already demonstrated it well. Perhaps by making oil painting Chinese, he felt that he would not be labelled by his contemporaries as one who fawned on foreign power while promoting an indiscriminate adoption of Western painting. Such outbursts from the well-respected author, reformer, scholar, governor, calligrapher and art connoisseur, Kang Youwei, in the hope of uniting the two cultural products instead of art being completely Westernised, perhaps reflects the wishes of many, who sought for a balance and modernisation of old China in many aspects, whilst confronting the new Western stimuli and Japanese challenges. When Kang loudly conveyed his idea, however, it was already seventy-seven years after the opening of China to the west, and two decades after the death of Ren Bonian.

⁵² "Western painting/ painters are skilled in perspectives..., but there is no emphasis on brushwork. Even though their work present an detailed accuracy, they are merely craftwork, belonging to no category in painting! 西洋畫/西洋人善勾股法...但筆法全無, 雖工亦匠, 故不入畫品。" Zou Yigui 鄒一桂, *Xiaoshan huapu* 小山畫譜 (Xiaoshan Painting Manual, before 1756), note on the Western painting "Xiyang hua 西洋畫"; collected in Shen Zicheng 沈子丞, *Lidai lunhua mingzhu huibian* 歷代論畫名著彙編 (Famous critics on painting from successive centuries), Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981, p.466.

7. A Parting

Born in 1840, in the same year when Western forces challenged the Chinese empire with the Opium War, Ren Bonian's life ended in the year when Japan broke the remaining confidence of people in ancient China. The experiences Ren Bonian endured and the period he lived in were times of turmoil and conflict. His art, and especially his portraits, presents his people and time. Whilst his artist friends were drawn as poor beggars or looking at the heaven wearily to pray for a blessed future, the portrait of a well-dressed Cantonese merchant showing his vicious smile to welcome his customers reveals the rise of the middle class merchants (Figs. 233, 234; Mr. Shitang Welcoming Customers 詩堂先生迎賓圖, 1870). Ren Bonian's work has expanded the scope of Chinese portraiture through his sharp observation and brush.

When a genre of painting such as portraiture changes its function from being a most private literary play between friends to become an advertisement, a tool for self-enhancement and effecting a public relations coup in the mass media; when the new stimuli of foreign technology, press and commerce excite the world of Ren Bonian; when an awareness of position, both social and artistic, based on the new reality of artistic origin and status, penetrated the art world; when a dynamic energy reflected the reinvigoration of painting by popular traditions; such were the conditions that began to mark nineteenth-century Shanghai painters. As Ren Bonian's portraiture negotiated between the two realms of traditional practice and foreign stimuli, his work vividly manifested the situation of art in the nineteenth-century metropolis of Shanghai before the nation and its art moved completely to a westernisation provoked by the Sino-Japanese War (1895).

“Parting At Dongjin 東津話別” (Fig. 235, 1868) was Ren Bonian’s first group portrait. It was also his first insertion of an image of himself to remember his move from Ningpo to Suzhou and then Shanghai:

I have been in Yongshang (Ningpo) for four years. I felt a great affinity to master monk Jieting and Mr. Xu Duofeng when I met them for the first time. Since then, we have been playing music, reciting poems and exploring the beautiful sceneries together. When it was late, we lit the fire; when it rained, we put on the rain-cape. Nothing can really stop us from doing things or enjoying ourselves together. These friendships, in addition to the beauty of Nature, have enriched my life here. But I will have to move to a bigger city to develop my artistic career with my uncle — Fuchang (Ren Xun). Lianshi (Xie Fulian) is leaving for the North with us as well. The date for departure is drawing near. Duofeng asked me to draw a picture in remembrance of our memories; as in the ancient time, Jiang Yan presented his sorrow in his “Bie Fu” (Prose-poem of Parting) when leaving, and Wang Can displayed his thoughts of the last in the verse “Deng Lou” (Ascending the Tower). This is the tenth day after the flower festival, in the second month of the seventh year of Tongzhi (1868.3.18). The recluse Ren Yi Ciyuan of Shanyin recorded this on this painting

ready to be mounted at this place on Gan Stream.⁵³

While parting at Dongjin, would the young artist know that his parting from country of literati tradition to the metropolis and city of Western fabrics would not only decide his personal fate, but that his art would also mark the beginning of an important parting in Chinese painting, a farewell to classical past and a step forward to a new era?

⁵³ Colophon of the "*Parting at Dongjin* 東津話別圖", 1868, by Ren Bonian, now collected in China Art Gallery 中國美術館. See *ibid.*, p. 55, fn. 13.

VI. Authentic and Counterfeit
Figure Paintings of Ren Bonian



VI. AUTHENTIC AND COUNTERFEIT FIGURE PAINTINGS OF REN BONIAN

*Every Artist finds certain visual possibilities before him,
to which he is bound. Not everything is possible at all
times.¹*

According to the information we have gathered, there exists a massive production of Ren Bonian's work in museums and private hands in both east and west. When viewing more than 3000 pieces of these works, we often find some paintings that are questionable. My suspicion was raised when I found some pairs of Ren Bonian's figure painting that have exactly the same composition, the same number of brush lines in every detail, and moreover, the same date in the inscription. I began to wonder: Are they authentic pictures by Ren Bonian? If they are counterfeits, who forged the paintings? What was the reason for making copies?

In most cases, stylistic analysis is applied to identify the authenticity of the work. Nevertheless, when there are some good imitators on Ren Bonian's style including members of his family, the making of a judgment becomes so difficult that we ought to consider the painting in all ways.

My study in this chapter seeks to provide a methodology for identifying

¹ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History*, trans. M. D. Hottinger, New York: Dover Publications, 1932, p. 11

counterfeits of Ren Bonian's painting, taking his figure painting as an example. In addition I try to provide information about people who might have imitated Ren Bonian in his late years and about the possible sources of copies. Last of all, the reason for forgery making in this case will be explored.

A. Types of Making Copies

According to Xu Bangda, there are basically three types of making fake paintings.² The first method is to fake a new picture with or without the original work using one of the following methods: *mo* 摹 (to trace); *lin* 臨 (to copy); *fang* 仿 (to imitate); or *zao* 造 (to invent).

The second type of forgery is to make changes to the original work. Those methods are: *gai* 改 (to change); *tian* 添 (to add); *jian* 減 (to remove).

The third type is *daibi* 代筆: some famous artists were too busy to finish many commissions, so that they asked their students or friends to paint the pictures for them, they might revise the pictures a bit themselves afterwards or only add their own seals or inscriptions on the paintings in the end.

B. Identifying Counterfeit Painting

² Xu Bangda, "Ways of recognizing fake paintings and the forging methods 對作偽的方式、方法的鑑定", *Mingjia tan jianding* 名家談鑑定, Beijing: Forbidden City Publishing, 1995, p.22-31.

As indicated by Wen Fong, Chinese connoisseurs have long established a system of checking the authenticity of painting, in which a detailed examination of the following items is normally applied:

1. The material (silk or paper) of the painting.
2. The artist's signature, inscription and seals.
3. Colophons written by critics of preceding periods, which are found either on the painting proper, on some attached papers, or on the mounting.
4. Previous collectors' seals.
5. Records of the painting in ancient catalogues if available.
6. The painting itself.³

Based on this thorough checking, I have chosen some representative cases, ranging from forged figure paintings, exact tracing copies, free-hand copies of popular subject matter, and *daibi* paintings, to a pastiche that comprises familiar elements taken from different paintings by Ren Bonian.

1. A Freehand Copy of Popular Subject-matter

Through the thirty years of his artistic life, Ren Bonian had his favourite subjects and themes. Sometimes he painted one subject over and over, such as the legendary demon-queller Zhong Kui who appeared in more than fifty

³ This system of "authenticating" paintings, which involved a detailed examination of the items, has been developed by the Chinese critics throughout the centuries. Here we adapt the check list indicated in Wen Fong's "The Problem of Forgeries in Chinese Painting", *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 25, 1962, p. 98.

pieces of his painting, or the figures of Su Shi, Mi Fu and Su Wu who are also shown in more than ten paintings each. Even though the themes are repeated, Ren Bonian had a distinct style of his own and changed his brushwork and composition from time to time.

In a pair of paintings of “ Guanyin with a Child 送子觀音 ” (Fig. 237, 1883), one in private hands in Shanghai, one in the Tianjin Art Gallery (Fig. 238, 1883), both describe a bare-footed female figure in a long white robe and carrying a child on her left arm. At the lower left, the inscriptions on both paintings are the same: “The first month of *guiwei* year of Guangxu, the disciple Ren Yi from Shanyin made a picture of Dashi with hands pressed together (the gesture for praying) 光緒癸未正月敬造大士像一區山陰弟子任頤合十 ”. Besides the calligraphy, the brushwork and composition, the paintings look exactly the same and the measurements of both hanging scrolls are 80 x 34 cm. The only difference is that the version in the private collection has a collector’s seal “ Shifa cang Bonian xiaopin 十髮藏伯年小品 ” (Cheng Shifa’s collection of works by Ren Bonian)

It is very obviously a case of “ Twin ” pictures.

As described by Wang Yuntian 王運天 when he first discovered this problem,

Which is the original, which is the fake? I was so confused...Then I brought these pictures to a senior expert of Shanghai Painting School - Zhu Nianci 朱念慈 for advice. After he carefully checked every detail,

every line, every character with the magnifying glass, Mr.

Zhu said to me:

“Firstly, Ren Bonian never signed his signature in ‘Wei lapidary style 魏碑’ on his painting. But you see the inscription here shows the influence of Wei style. This is really strange!

Secondly, the brush lines on the figure’s dress are very stiff and the curved lines are not natural or fluent. I think these two pictures are the products (of the fan shops) in Chenghuang Temple 城隍廟 (City Guard Temple). Both paintings are not authentic!”

Later on, Mr. Zhu also told me that the subject matters of Chenghuang Temple products are mostly popular Gods or historical figures, such as Guanyin 觀音, Guan Yu 關羽, Zhou Cang 周倉 or Three Auspicious Stars 福祿壽 and so on. The sizes of the pictures are often very large. We shall pay more attention to such kind of paintings appearing under Ren’s name.⁴

Zhu Nianci’s analysis is very convincing. Because Ren Bonian’s early calligraphic style was influenced by Ren Xun, the writing was flatter and

⁴ Wang, Yuntian 王運天, “Ren Bonian de mafanshi 任伯年的麻煩事” (Troubles in the Study of Ren Bonian), Newsletter of the Chinese Painting Academy of Shanghai 上海中國畫院通訊, no.1, June 1997, p. 37

similar to the style of clerical script. And by 1883, he had formed his own writing style, which is more blunt and vertical, close to the mode of running script. So the calligraphic style shown in both 1883 paintings here is abnormal.

Besides the calligraphy, if we compare this pair of paintings to other pictures done in the same year, "Portrait of Zhao Xiaoyun 趙嘯雲像" (Fig. 239, 1883) for instance, we see a big distinction in brushwork and technique. Ren Bonian used shading technique on his figure's face as well as on clothing in this 1883 portrait. His brushwork is slender, steady and constant. The brush lines continue on both the smooth surface and cursive folds of the clothes. As each line does not repeat itself, the brushwork here shows a quality of tidiness and fluency.

On the contrary, the brush lines in both "Guanyin with a Child" paintings are rather short and broken. Lines are interrupted at every angular point. Although the authors of these paintings also emphasise shading on the clothes, the colouring on the Bodhisattva's face seems to be casually washed through with weak ink. The tonality is so lacking in variety that the colour on the chin is the same as the colour under the eyes.

After a detailed examination of the calligraphy, style and seals, we consider that both pictures of "Guanyin with a Child" are counterfeits.

Besides, as Mr. Zhu reminds us to pay more attention to some large size pictures of the popular auspicious themes, I also found other questionable paintings of this type.

More Examples of Suspected Chenghuang Temple Products

“Congratulations on an Official Promotion 加官晉爵 ” (Fig. 244) dated in the same year (1883) now in Zhejiang Museum also belongs to this type of free-hand copy. On this tall hanging scroll, the author seems to draw the form so carelessly that the brushwork is loose and plain. The author did not care about presenting the figures’ personality at all.

Apart from the false style in brushwork, the two seals of Ren Bonian in “Congratulations on an Official Promotion” are forged, one is an imitation of the seal “ Yi Yin 頤印 ” that Ren used quite often during 1872 ~ 1882; the other seal with “ Bonian 伯年 ” (Fig. 245) in relief characters, has not been seen anywhere else on his existing paintings.

We cannot say for sure that such large paintings with auspicious subject matter must be Chenghuang Temple products. In the vicinity of the Yu Garden in the Chenghuang Temple were numerous fan shops selling antiques, painting and calligraphy. It was also a social centre and a market for artists in Shanghai. Several artists’ associations, for example Yuyuan shuhua shanhui 豫園書畫善會 (Yu Garden Calligraphy and Painting Charity Organization, 1909) were founded in the Chenghuang Temple area. It was also a place where artists were offered accommodation and a painting studio. Ren Bonian once had lived and painted in *Feidan ge* 飛丹閣 in the City Guard Temple in his early years. In addition to the fan shops, there were mounting shops, brush and paper shops that served also as agents for artists. So the Chenghuang Temple area was the place where artists worked, customers placed

their orders and authentic paintings were displayed to the public.

For market reasons, it is possible that the professional fan shops or mounting painters, in the Chenghuang Temple area in particular, liked to borrow the name of a famous painter, such as Ren Bonian, and to depict popular subject-matter or auspicious themes to cater for the taste of general buyers. As Mr. Zhu stated before, this kind of product often presents auspicious themes in large size, yet the expression of the figures is somehow lacking in personality, while the seals and calligraphic style are normally false.

2. A Pastiche with Elements Taken from a Different Picture of the Master

“Two Seated Elders 二老并坐圖”(Fig. 246, 1874) is a typical example of a pastiche which comprises familiar elements taken from different pictures of the master. This picture borrowed two seated figures from Ren Bonian's “Gods of Literature and the Martial Arts 文昌關羽像”(Fig. 247, 1882). Although the forger tried to copy the brushwork line by line, the figures still look rather dull and the postures so unnatural in the Tianjin copy, and its brushwork is thinner and less steady which is very like the two copies of “Guanyin with a Child 送子觀音”.

In spite of the painting technique, the calligraphy of the inscription is not appropriate to Ren's 1874 writing. In the inscription of two pictures dated in the summer and autumn of 1874, “Zhong Kui 鍾馗”(Fig. 249, 1874) and “Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊”(Fig. 250, 1874), we see the last brushstroke “|” of “Jia 甲” linked to the line “J” of “Xu 戌” which means that Ren

Bonian wrote the “丿” stroke before “一” in the character “戍”, and the tip of the stroke “丿” goes up slightly. But the author of Tianjin copy wrote the stroke “一” first and then linked the two characters by elongating the “丿” stroke, and the tip of “丿” stays down. The order of writing here is different from Ren Bonian’s normal habit in writing.

So the author of this painting of “Two Seated Elders” might have seen the original painting by Ren Bonian. Instead of making a complete imitation, he used the method *mo* 摹 to copy two of three figures of the genuine work, leaving out the demon escaping from the brushpot.

The other example is a pair of “Zhong Kui” paintings, one in the former collection of Ye Qianyu and one in New York (Fig. 251, Fig. 252), in which Zhong Kui has flowers stuck behind his left ear, has a sword attached round the waist, claps his right knee and sits by a table. In spite of the floral arrangement in the two vases and the pattern on the shell of the two swords both being different, and one more book being added into the New York version, the arrangement of the objects in both pictures is basically the same.

With a detailed examination, we find that the brushwork shown on the folds of clothes are very different. In the Ye Qianyu version, the style of brushwork is of the iron-wire mode which was inherited from Chen Hongshou school, except that the lines are slenderer and finer showing the clear influence of Ren Xun’s “*dingtou shuwei cun* 釘頭鼠尾皴” (nail head and rat tail stroke) at each of the turning points. The shading technique was heavily applied on each fold of the figure’s clothes, and the characters on his inscription are flatter, which are all features consonant with Ren Bonian’s early style.

In the New York version, the brush lines are more complex, shorter, multitudinous and often repeated. One obvious example of repeated brush lines is at the curve of the hair on the figure's right temple. The author applied the darker ink lines on the temple first, then used ink wash several times on the same place, yet it looks like as if it was from an uncertain hand that simply tried to add more strokes to fix the form. Such treatment is not normally found in Ren Bonian's other work.

Besides, the gesture of the figure, the two crossed legs in particular, look quite unnatural, so that we can hardly tell the left foot from the right one.

It is possible that the painter was asked by the clients to copy the pictures they had seen in other places. In such a case, it might result that the two pictures could look similar and both be by Ren Bonian. But in this case, it is puzzling since the latter work appears to be less skilful and immature, and its brushwork seems quite unusual compared with other work by Ren Bonian in 1883. Thus one might suspect the authenticity of the "Zhong Kui" painting at the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

3. The Exact Tracing Copies

The presentation of both composition and signature in a pair of pictures of Zhong Kui, one in the Shanghai Museum (Fig. 253), one in Zheng Qiaozhi's 鄭僑志 (Fig. 254) collection in Singapore looks exactly the same at the first glance. In both paintings, Zhong Kui was drawn in red ink, facing left. He is wearing the official robe and cap, seated and once again clasping his right

knee. In the background, there are five bamboos painted in dark green and grey pigments behind the figure's right shoulder. In the lower right corner, the painter signed "Bonian Ren Yi 伯年任頤" and stamped a seal "Ren Yi zhi yin 任頤之印" (Fig. 257, Shanghai version; Fig. 258, Zheng Qiaozhi version).

A close comparison of the two paintings demonstrates that they cannot have been the creation of a single hand. The most noticeable differences are in the speed and quality of the brushwork.

The brush flows freely and naturally on the folds of the figure's robe in the Shanghai version. Although the Shanghai painting was done in a rather blunt and speedy brush-mode, the thick lines, such as the horizontal line under the beard and the zigzag lines on the left sleeve are neatly done, presenting the weight of a wet brush and the pressing down power while the painter was turning the brush.

In contrast, the brush-mode in the Singapore version shows more hesitation. Especially in the thicker zigzag lines, we see the gaps between the lines and the brush went over and over on one line trying to make a certain shape. And the brush lines on the end of the robe are quite messy, obviously lacking in consideration and order. These are typical signs of an attempt at *mo* 摹 or *lin* 臨, that is to copy the brush mode and composition on another sheet of paper.

As described by Wu Changshuo in his colophon on an "Album of Flowers and Birds" (24 leaves, 1886):

I have seen him (Ren Bonian) painting in person, his speed

with the brush is like flying which presents the spirit within the subject. When one tries hard to learn his brushwork, the original spirit would be lost in the attempt. It is so difficult.

余曾親見其作畫，落筆如飛，神在個中。亟學之已失真意，難矣。

The speed of Ren Bonian's brushwork is his special trait; it also provides a strong evidence for identifying his work.

Besides the difference in brushwork, the Singapore painting has one seal more than the Shanghai version. On the lower left of the Singapore painting there appears a square seal “Haichang Qian Jingtang cang 海昌錢鏡塘藏”(Fig. 259; collected by Haichang Qian Jingtang). Qian Jingtang was the name of a famous collector in Shanghai. As he was highly considered as an expert on Ren Bonian, a lot of people brought Ren's paintings to him and asked for his authentication. When the painting was authentic, often he would be asked to stamp his seal on the painting as a kind of certificate for the market. When an authentic Ren Bonian painting carried the seal of a well-known connoisseur like Qian Jingtang, its value would multiply a hundred-fold.

Qian Jingtang had two special seals for Ren Bonian's painting; one was square, one rectangular. The inscriptions on both were “Qian Jingtang jianding Ren Bonian zhenji zhiyin 錢鏡塘鑑定任伯年真跡之印”(Fig. 260, Fig. 261; Seal of Qian Jingtang to certify the authentic work of Ren Bonian): both were carved by Wu Pu 吳樸 (normally known as Putang 樸堂, native of

Shaoxing 紹興, 1922~1966).⁹ The seal shown in the Singapore painting is not one of these two, but was a different seal used by Qian on other authentic paintings in his collection that were NOT by Ren Bonian.

While the imitator tried to borrow Qian Jingtang's name to convince the viewer, the false seal he impressed on the painting can only reveal its falseness.

A similar problem is also seen in another pair of paintings of "Zhong Kui Carrying a Broken Fan 墨筆破扇鍾馗", one in the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, the other in the Shanghai Museum (Fig. 262, Fig. 263). In both paintings, Zhong Kui opens his mouth, his eyes look aside, and he holds a white fan over his chest in his left hand and a sword in his right hand. The fan is broken just under his chin. On the right rear of the picture, both paintings bear the same inscription "光緒辛卯夏五月上浣山陰任頤伯年甫寫於滬城之頤頤草堂" (Shanyin Ren Yi Bonian wrote in the Yiyi Thatched Hall in Shanghai city, early in the 5th month of the *xinmao* year of Guangxu (1891)) and two painter's seals "Ren Yi zhi yin 任頤之印" (intaglio) and "Bonian 伯年" (in relief). At the lower left, there is another painter's seal "Yiyi caotang 頤頤草堂" (Yiyi Thatched Hall – Ren's studio) carved in seal script.

Although both paintings were drawn in ink wash without contour lines, the brushwork of the Zhejiang version is more skilled in that the surface of the figure's robe is painted in different ranks of the black ink. The slightly cynical expression on Zhong Kui's face is also vividly drawn which presents

5. Wang, Yuntian 王運天, "Ren Bonian de mafanshi 任伯年的麻煩事" (Troubles in the Study of Ren Bonian), Newsletter of the Chinese Painting Academy of Shanghai 上海中國畫院通訊, no.1, June 1997, p. 41.

Ren Bonian's famous excellence in "transmission of the spirit 傳神" of his subject. On the contrary, the figure in the Shanghai Museum has a rather dull look. The contrast between the ink tones is less obvious, and the amount of water in the ink wash is less skilfully controlled. Judging by the painting itself, the Shanghai painting is likely to be a copy.

Besides, on the lower right of the Zhejiang painting, there is one additional seal "Qian Jingtang jianding Ren Bonian zhenji zhiyin 錢鏡塘鑑定任伯年真跡之印". Presumably the seal itself is genuine, then this seal is the normal seal that Qian Jingtang used on Ren Bonian's paintings. Based on the record in the Zhejiang Museum, this Zhong Kui painting was directly purchased in 1965 from Qian Jingtang, whose name is often a guarantee for authenticity.

There is another copy of this Zhong Kui painting recently sold in an auction in Shanghai (Fig. 264). The composition of the figure is exactly the same, but on the left, there is a long calligraphic inscription by Pu Hua. On close inspection, the calligraphy is short of the power and the fluency of Pu Hua's typical writing. Moreover, the calligraphy of Pu Hua's inscription and the calligraphy of Ren Bonian's signature on the right seem to be written by a single hand. Instead of stamping the seal of a famous collector, the imitator tried to use a famous person's colophon to convince the viewer of the authenticity of this copy.

Since there is more than one counterfeit of this Zhong Kui painting, we may ask where the imitators were able to see or own the original piece? Why are both false and genuine seals of Qian Jingtang found on counterfeit paintings? Are those copies in fact relevant to Qian Jingtang?

Qian Dexin 錢德鑫, normally known as Qian Jingtang 錢鏡塘 (? ~ after 1976), was the son of a landscape painter Qian Hongyu 錢鴻遇 (1865~1917) from Haining 海寧. He inherited his father's love for art and began to collect art when he moved to Shanghai from Ningpo in his 20s'. He was an art dealer and collector: together with Pang Laichen 龐萊臣, Wu Hufan 吳湖帆 and Di Pingzi 狄平子, Qian Jingtang was listed as one of the four famous collectors of early twentieth century. He was famed for his collection of Ming and Qing painting and calligraphy. He had several seals, such as "Shuqing caotang 數青草堂", "Shudai caotang 書帶草堂", "Wu Yue wangsun 吳越王孫", "Haichang Qian Jingtang cangzha yin 海昌錢鏡塘藏札印" and "Haichang Qian Jingtang yin 海昌錢鏡塘藏" for the objects he collected. As an expert on late Qing paintings, Qian Jingtang showed a great love for Ren Bonian's work, he had two special seals carved for Ren Bonian's paintings in his own collection, and people often brought Ren Bonian's paintings to him and asked for an impression of his seal as a certificate of authenticity. In 1962 and 1965, Qian Jingtang donated part of his collection to the Shanghai Museum. And during the Cultural Revolution (1966~1976), like many other people, he was forced to give up all his collection to the same museum. After the ten-year disaster, the Shanghai Museum tried to return some of the collection to its original owner. By then, Qian Jingtang was old and poor. Owing to his difficult financial situation, he began to sell most of his painting collection. He had two rules:

1. He did not sell paintings to any museum directly.
2. He did not sell works of Ren Bonian and Wu Hufan 吳湖帆.⁶

⁶ Information is cited in *Shoucangjia he bowuguan* 收藏家和博物館 (Collector and Museum),

Perhaps because Qian Jingtang had himself been an art dealer, he did not want to do business with the museum himself, preferring to consider the benefit for other art dealers. In the end, his collection was sold to his art dealer friends, and most of the work was then immediately sold again to museums. Thus most of his collection has either been kept in the Shanghai Museum or sold back to this and other museums after the Cultural Revolution.

According to Mr. Fu Hua 富華, the former director of the Chinese Painting Academy of Shanghai and an acquaintance of Qian Jingtang, Qian Jingtang in the late 1970s' still held more than one hundred pictures by Ren Bonian.⁷ They were planning to publish a catalogue of Ren Bonian's work from Qian Jingtang's collection, but Qian Jingtang had other considerations and suddenly cancelled the plan. Perhaps he was worried: if he published those paintings, they would be known and perhaps be taken away by force according to his terrible experience in the Cultural Revolution. Soon after the cancellation of the project, Qian Jingtang died. The family began selling the rest of the art collection afterwards. His collection of Ren Bonian's work has been sold to several places such as the Shanghai Museum, Zhejiang Provincial Museum, the Palace Museum and the China Art Gallery.⁸

It is said that Qian Jingtang often sold paintings which he considered to be less good and spent the money he earned on acquiring more valuable works.⁹ Moreover, Qian Jingtang indeed made forgeries with the help of his artist friends.

Shanghai: Shanghai Museum, 2000, p. 282.

⁷ Interview with Mr. Fu Hua, 2000.5

⁸ *Ibid.*, note 6. The most recent example is a special auction of famous people's letters held by Jinghua Auction Company 敬華拍賣公司 on June 23~24 2001. The objects in this auction were from Qian Jingtang's old collection, now kept by his grandson.

⁹ *Ibid.*, note 6.

According to Fu Hua, who was a close disciple of Jiang Hanting 江寒汀 (1903~1963), Jiang Hanting had a chance to see paintings by masters in Qian Jingtang's place and could improve his painting skill by copying the old masterpieces.¹⁰ Jiang Hanting could not earn as much money by selling paintings with his own name, as he could by selling copies of works by famous painters. Sometimes for the sake of a living, Jiang Hanting viewed the paintings in Qian Jingtang's place, made copies, borrowed the artists' seals some of which could also be found in Qian Jingtang's collection, then Qian Jingtang sold those forgeries and shared the benefits. Such cooperation was known in their contemporary circle. And Jiang Hanting was so familiar with Xu Gu's and Ren Bonian's style, that he could imitate their style, brushwork, and calligraphy very well, in particular the bird-and-flower paintings.

However, we have no direct record to prove exactly which existing paintings masquerading under Ren Bonian's name were produced in Qian Jingtang's studio. Nor could we find other first hand information so far. In the case of "Zhong Kui Carrying a Broken Fan 墨筆破扇鍾馗" (in the collection of the Shanghai Museum and in private hands), they can only be proved to be fakes or copies by comparing them with the one in the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. Perhaps the copy makers, who had seen the original version, may have had connections with Qian Jingtang or some other collectors.

¹⁰ Interview with Mr. Fu Hua, 2000.5

4. Other Examples of Repeated Images of Popular Themes

The general impression concerning Shanghai painting is that the subject-matter was very much limited by the wishes of the commissioners and the owners of fan shops. It is without doubt that the market taste more or less influenced the presentation in art since painting was considered as a commercial product in Shanghai at that time. But pictures of the same theme can have various presentations in the case of Ren Bonian's figure painting.

"Xie Dongshan and His Concubines 謝東山攜妓圖" was one of Ren Bonian's favourite themes. It depicts the story of Xie An 謝安 when he lived in Kuaiji 會稽 enjoying himself in the mountains with female musicians every day. This playful theme had been depicted in Chinese painting long before Ren Bonian, but such kind of pleasure-seeking subject-matter became very popular in Shanghai. It is considered as being relevant to the contemporary atmosphere in the city, because the theme reflected the close relationship between the literati and famous female musicians, as well as the vigorous business of prostitution in late nineteenth-century Shanghai. Under a rather traditional title, the paintings of such joyful subjects were made perhaps to satisfy the needs of some buyers.

From 1885 onwards, Ren Bonian composed several pictures of "Playing String Music in Mount Dong". Most of them have similar elements and arrangement of the composition. The most common trait in these pictures is that Ren Bonian used to draw a tall pine tree in the foreground to separate the image into half, and the main male character would be half hidden behind the trunk in the middle plane, lazily leaning on a zither desk. One or a few female figures would be playing music around him and the boy attendants

would either walk towards Xie carrying a zither or stand idly by looking at the master.

But we found “ Listening to the Music under the Pine 松下賞音 ”(1895) in an auction in Beijing (Fig. 265) has exactly the same arrangement as the painting “ Playing String Music in Mount Dong ”(Fig. 266, 1891) in China Art Gallery. Apart from the difference in inscription, all of the setting and every other detail are identical in the two pictures. It is strange to see a painting dated 1895 but executed in such an elaborate, complex and detailed style, as this was the year of Ren Bonian’s death when the painter had already fallen ill.

We know it is possible that paintings of the same theme by one painter might show some likeness in physical form. But it is not likely that a painter should copy his own work completely line for line, stroke for stroke and dot for dot in the last year of his life.

If we compare two pictures carefully, we see the brushwork differs in the representation of the pine tree. In the 1891 version, the outline of the trunk was drawn in long lines and circular lines in various tones of ink presented the texture of the bark. The trunk springs straight from the lower right corner providing a strong diagonal anchor for the whole composition. The brush style is blunt and speedy on the whole. The dots on the left side of the tree and some branches show a free mind while creating the visual effect. But in the 1895 version, the circular textures of the bark are messily drawn in rather plain and weak ink. The contour of the tree was first drawn in short lines with lighter ink, then broken and darker wash was added later on. The trunk seems to swell awkwardly in places, and the base of the trunk is completely hidden behind thick foliage so that it seems much closer to the figures, leading to

spatial ambiguity. The brush is wetter than the 1891 version.

Besides the difference in presentation of trees, the figure of Xie An was better represented in the 1891 version. In the 1891 painting, Xie seems to be so relaxed that he put all the weight of his upper body on the zither desk while leaning on it. And the stance of the boy attendant carrying the instrument is quite natural. On the contrary, the gesture of Xie An in the 1895 version suggests a rather tense and unnatural temperament. The instrument carried by the boy is not covered by a cloth and is almost hitting a branch of the tree. Besides, the gestures of the other figures are also less spontaneous.

If we compare these two pictures with the other authentic pictures of the same theme, for instance, “Listening to the Flute under a Pine Tree 松下聞簫”(1894, China Art Gallery) also dated in Ren’s late years, we find that the thickened and neat strokes on the pine needle-leaves and the temperament of the figures in the 1894 painting (Fig. 60) are similar to the 1891 painting (Fig. 266). One suspects that the 1895 version (Fig. 265) is a copy of the 1891 painting (Fig. 266).

The artist who painted the 1895 version must have seen the original in person and have been familiar with Ren Bonian’s style, so that he/she could devote time and energy in imitating laborious details of such a large work. The painter also showed a close affinity in brush technique. This is therefore an example of *mo* 摹.

In the picture “Talking about Dao under the Pine 松蔭論道” (Fig. 267) by Ni Tian 倪田 dated 1907, the composition is similar to Ren Bonian’s pictures we mentioned above. Yet the brushwork of trees in Ni Tian’s painting is very

similar to those in 1895 copy of Ren's painting. If we reverse the picture, we see that the boy attendant looks almost the same as the one shown in the 1895 painting, who also carries the instrument without a covering. In his self-inscription, Ni Tian wrote (Fig. 268):

“Talking about Dao under the Pine”, Xinluo shanren painted this picture before. My work imitates his idea slightly, just as an ugly person attempted to imitate the charming smile of [Xishi, the beauty in Chinese history] and [a foreigner tried to] learns the way [Handan people] walked. My work would only make people laugh. I write this with apologies [to Hua Yan]. Ni Tian from Hanshang, wrote early in the eleventh month of the *dingwei* year (1907).

“松蔭論道”，新羅山人畫此圖，余是作略仿其意，
效顰學步，徒令人捧腹耳，書以志媿。邗上倪田記時
丁未冬十一月上浣

Apart from the title, I was surprised to find that Ni Tian's inscription is almost the same as the inscription in Ren Bonian's 1891 painting. Ren had written (Fig. 269):

Xinluo shanren's picture of “Xie Dongshan and His

Concubines". My work imitates his idea slightly, just as [Dongshi] attempted to imitate the smile of [Xishi] and [a foreigner tried to] learn the way [Handan people] walked. My work would only make people laugh. I write this with apologies [to Hua Yan]. Ren Yi. In the seventh month, the autumn of the *xinmao* year of Guangxu (1891).

新羅山人“謝東山攜妓圖”，余是作略仿其意，效顰學步，徒令人捧腹耳，書以志媿，任頤。時光緒辛卯秋七月。

The inscriptions on these two paintings were obviously done by different hands. From the similarities of the inscriptions and of the composition of the images described above, we suspect that Ni Tian or others had access to the original or a sketch of this 1891 painting.¹⁰ Being able to see the original, there is a chance to make copies, which might explain why there exists an exactly traced copy of Ren Bonian's 1891 work.

Although we cannot prove for certain that it is Ni Tian who made the 1895 copy, it is interesting and necessary to consider where he might have had the opportunity to see the genuine paintings by Ren Bonian, where copies of Ren's paintings were possibly from, and under what circumstances such copies were made.

¹⁰ Such sketches did in fact exist, see p. 228, fn. 17 below.

C. People Related to Copy Making

Apart from our previous suspicion of copies being made by in the Chenghuang Temple workshop, the collectors or dealers who owned Ren Bonian's painting such as Qian Jingtang and his friends, and anonymous copy makers in modern times, the prime suspects in the making of forgeries could be Ren Bonian's daughter and his students. Some of those who may have made copies or forgeries are as follows:

1. Ni Tian 倪田 (1855~1919)

Ni Tian, an artist and a dealer in painting, more than other known disciples, has been credited with carrying forward Ren's style to a third generation of Shanghai painters.

Of Ni Tian 倪田, Yang Yi in *Haishang Molin* presents the following assessment:

A native of Jiangdu, he first studied painting with Wang Xiaomei 王小明 (Wang Su 王素) and (was well versed in) figural subjects, the portrayal of women and Buddhist icons in antique style. In these, he took the lofty and untrammelled approach. In mid-Guangxu, he arrived in Shanghai. In his admiration for Ren Yu's painting, he

brought the master's method into his own art. In rendering giant boulders in ink or flowering plants in colour, he was able to attain the qualities of being rich, moist, strong and powerful, thereby surpassing his contemporaries. He also was skilled at landscape. (Ni Tian) lived in Shanghai and sold paintings for around 30 years. He died eight years after the *xinhai* year (1911) of Xuanton at the age of sixty-five.¹¹

Ni Tian's style was greatly indebted to Ren Bonian's as discussed earlier in connection with Ni's "Talking about Dao under the Pine 松蔭論道" (Fig. 267). Since 1890, either by economical necessity or impatience, Ni Tian had long forsaken the *gongbi* 工筆 approach (meticulous style), to favour the *xieyi* 寫意 approach (seizing the idea, suggesting immediacy and quickness of brushwork) and often borrowed Ren Bonian's compositions for his own pictures. "Tending Buffalo on a Spring Meadow 春風得意圖" (Fig. 270) in the Ren Bonian mode reflects a theme in Ren Bonian's repertory (Fig. 271). The buffalo was composed in the centre of the picture, the herd boy on the right and some trees on the left in both works. The *xieyi* approach presented in the images of the buffalo is particularly similar. Ni Tian borrowed the same slanting strokes but has had to fill the foreground with a rock and bushes whereas Ren has the confidence to leave the foreground blank which adds to the immediacy of the composition. From the hindquarters of the buffalo to its

¹¹ Yang Yi 楊逸, *Haishang molin* 海上墨林, this translation is adapted from Brown & Chou, *Transcending Turmoil*, 1992, p.202

tail and legs, Ren Bonian's use of ink is more skilled and creative in the application of ink in various degrees of dilution to suggest the light. On the whole, Ni Tian's art lacks Ren Bonian's thematic and stylistic range and visionary power, as well as his liveliness and humour.

Ni Tian, who immersed himself into the Shanghai School since the 1890s, was regarded by Ren Jin 任堇 (son of Ren Bonian) as having captured the spirit and brush of his late father. In an inscription on another painting of "Xie An and His Concubines" (1894) by Ni Tian,¹² Ren Jin used the term *si shu* 私淑 (private learning) to describe Ni's close relationship with his father. Having amassed a large number of Ren's schemata, Ni's work displays with startling clarity the extent to which he was willing to submit to the commanding power of Ren Bonian's art.

2. Ren Xia 任霞 (1870~1920)

Several pictures of the same composition appearing in Ren Bonian's late years bear genuine seals of the painter, and display a typical compositional arrangement and similar calligraphy style. For example, three paintings of a female figure, in Tianjin Art Gallery 天津藝術博物館 (1892), Shanghai Wenwu Shop 文物商店 (1895) and Zhenjiang City Museum 鎮江市博物館 (1895) all have the same formation. But the brushwork and colouring are slightly too delicate to match with Ren Bonian's old hand and his blunt style, and the facial expression of the figures is without life. Modern scholars such

¹² See Sotheby's Hong Kong, 19 May 1988, lot 62. This picture is dated 1894.

as Ding Xiyuan consider that some of these later works were done by Ren Xia (daughter of Ren Bonian) and other close students. According to Xu Beihong who collected Ren's finished work as well as his sketches or *fenben* 粉本:

Bonian's strength went through the paper. So lightness and clearness are the traits of his painting. The second layer of the paper is even lighter. When he paints mist or smoke, he is especially wary of too much complexity, in case it obscures the traces of his brush.¹³

伯年力透紙背，其畫故以淡逸勝，而副頁乃更逸脫，畫煙火氣，特恐張掛過多，塵汗混其筆跡耳。

And,

One can have two pictures at once by using the laminated *xuan* paper for painting. When the effect is good, the second layer becomes valuable; especially as it does not show the traces of the brush, which are normally seen on the original paper. It is indeed interesting.¹⁴

用夾宣紙一作而得兩幅，遇愜意者副張亦是可留，尤

¹³ Xu Beihong's colophon in Ren Bonian's painting "Standing Alone on the Hill 獨立蒼茫", 1891, Paper, 117 x 74 cm, Xu Beihong Memorial Gallery, Beijing.

¹⁴ Inscription on Ren Bonian's "Plum House 梅花庵", 1891, paper, 174 x 46.5 cm, Xu Beihong Memorial Gallery.

以筆墨之不著行跡爲原紙所無，趣益深遠。

A characteristic of *jiaxuan* paper 夾宣紙 is that it has been dipped twice instead of once into the vat of emulsified paper fibres, so that there are in fact two separate layers that can, with care, be split apart. The deliberate use of *jiaxuan* paper might be owing to the great demand for Ren Bonian's work. While the second layers preserve the outlines of the paintings, they may become sources of inspiration for the painter himself as well as for students to learn.

That Ren Xia was making copies based on Ren Bonian's sketches or *fen ben* can be proved by Ren Xia's picture (Fig. 274) collected in Chao Xun's edition of *Jieziyuan huazhuan* 芥子園畫傳 (Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting, published in 1897). This painting is in fact a copy of "An Outing 記遊畫稿" an ink sketch by Ren Bonian to record his trip out of town in 1885 (Fig. 275, China Art Gallery). Apart from the inscription, the two pictures by father and daughter have exactly the same composition. Another painting by Ren Xia, "Lady Gongsun's Sword Dance 公孫大娘舞劍圖" (Fig. 276) in Chao's manual of painting, is also based on Ren Bonian's sketch of the same theme (Fig. 277, 1885, China Art Gallery).

In *Hansongge tanyi suolu* 寒松閣談藝瑣錄, Zhang Mingke 張鳴珂 wrote:

Ren Yuhua [Ren Xia], the female painter, was a native of Xiaoshan, and the daughter of [Ren] Bonian. Bonian's

fame in painting was spreading across the country, and his daughter learnt from his father by listening and watching, and became good at landscape painting. [After Ren Bonian died] some people asked her to make copies of Bonian's old work, she was able to imitate the brushwork well. Her copies showed a kind of gentle and handsome temperament, which coincided with the original work. One could say that this is one of the most skilful things a painter can do.¹⁵

任雨華女史，蕭山人，伯年之女。伯年畫名滿海內，女史耳濡目染，亦工山水。人有以伯年遺稿索臨者，循其脈絡，矩步規行，一種蒼秀雋逸之趣，與原本吻合，可謂極丹青家之能事矣。

It is also mentioned in Zheng Yimei's 鄭逸梅 *Xiao Yangchui* 小陽秋 that

Bonian died in Shanghai as a visitor. After his death, the family was poor. Luckily, his daughter Xia, self-styled Yu-Hua, had inherited Ren's talent and she was able to sell paintings to support her mother and younger brother. In order to sell the pictures easily she often signed her father's name on her painting. It resulted that paintings under Bonian's name were seen everywhere in the markets,

¹⁵ Zhang Mingke, *Hansongge tanyi suolu* 寒松閣談藝瑣錄, Shanghai, 1923, chapter 6

the original and the copies were mixed together.¹⁶

伯年客死滬寓，身後殊蕭條，幸其女霞，字雨華，傳家學，賣畫以養母撫弟，且常署父名以圖易售，伯年畫遂充斥於市，真贋爲之淆亂矣。

To earn money, Ren Xia had already begun to draw pictures for her father in the latter's old age. After Ren's death, Ren Xia also made copies according to the sketches or *fenben* left over by her father. So such pictures have genuine seals but were finished in less mature and rather refined brushwork.

3. Li Fu 鄺馥, Yu Li 俞禮, and Others

Some disciples of Ren Bonian, such as Yu Li 俞禮 (1862-1922), Xu Xiang 徐祥, Li Fu 鄺馥, Wang Zhen 王震 (1867~1938) and Yan Yuan 顏元, and followers such as Yu Yuan 俞原 (1875~1963), Yu Ming 俞明 (1884~1935) and Chen Nian 陳年 (1876~1970) adopted Ren's style very well. Li Fu was especially good at imitating Ren Bonian's figures.

The composition in Li Fu's "Xiaohong Singing 小紅低唱" (Fig. 278, 1891) shows an affinity to three paintings of the same theme attributed to Ren Bonian: the China Art Gallery (Fig. 279, 1882), the Palace Museum, Beijing (1882) and Xu Beihong Memorial Gallery (undated). The compositions in

¹⁶ Zheng Yimei's *Xiao yangchou* 小陽秋, Taipei, 1947; cited in Wang Jingxian 王靖憲, *Ren Bonian huaji* 任伯年畫集, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992, part 1, p. 26

these pictures are similar: the two main figures are sitting in a boat in the middle plane; there are rocks in the foreground and tall pine trees in the background. Li's brushwork is more cursive and harder than Ren's, and the colouring is more intense. It is worth noticing that Li Fu's calligraphic style is very similar to Ren Bonian's inscription on three paintings. Li Fu picked up Ren's habit of linking some individual strokes together, e.g. in the characters *mao* 卯 and *fu* 甫 (Fig. 280) he changed the order of writing strokes so that he could continue writing without lifting the brush between strokes. It is striking to find that the calligraphy (Fig. 281) on "Peony and Double Cocks 牡丹雙雞" (Fig. 283, 1891) attributed to Ren Bonian is closer to the writing in Li Fu's "Xiaohong Singing 小紅低唱" (1891) than to other works by Ren Bonian (Fig. 282, detail of Fig. 266). The stroke "丿" in the character "xu 緒" was exaggerated and elongated both in "Peony and Double Cocks" and in Li Fu's work. Ren also writes "xu 緒" with a lot of space between the horizontal strokes of "者" while Li Fu (Fig. 280) has them very close together. Besides, the two seals 「Ren Yi zhi yin 任頤之印」 and 「Bonian 伯年」 (Fig. 284) appeared once only in 1891 in this picture "Peony and Double Cocks". It is not until two years later, that they appear again in several works, remaining in use until the end of Ren's life in 1895.

The seals Ren Bonian normally used together in 1891 were 「Ren Yi zhi yin 任頤之印」 and 「Bonian 伯年」 (Fig. 285, Fig. 286). Judging by the close resemblance between the calligraphy in "Peony and Double Cocks" and that in Li Fu's work and noting the abnormal usage of seals on this painting, one might suppose a possible connection between Li Fu and copies of Ren Bonian's work.

Yu Li (1862-1922), also known as Dafu 達夫 and Suian 隨龔, was originally from Shaoxing 紹興 in Zhejiang 浙江. He was a disciple of Ren Bonian and famous for his familiarity with Ren Bonian's painting style. There are not many existing works by him, yet his *Tingyulou huapu* 聽雨樓畫譜 (The Painting Manual of The Chamber of Listening to the Rain) offers us a chance to understand Yu Li's painting style. This painting manual was compiled in 1886 and published in 1889. It contains figural, bird-and-flower and landscape paintings. Most of these subjects are quite similar to Ren Bonian's, and actually reflect the popular taste of Shanghai at that time. Among 16 pieces of work collected in the manual, we find that three of Yu Li's pictures resemble the paintings appearing under Ren Bonian's name.

"Lady with Birthday Peaches" by Yu Li (Fig. 287) is exactly the same as the lady figure shown in Ren Bonian's "Magu Offering Birthday Wishes 麻姑獻壽" (Fig. 288, not dated). The second pair is Yu Li's "Figure with a Horse" (Fig. 289) and Ren Bonian's "Looking Solemnly at the Homeland 關河一望蕭索" (Fig. 290, 1882), which share the same composition.

Besides, Yu Li's arrangement of the figure in "Mi Fu Bowing to the Stone" (Fig. 291) is the same as Ren Bonian's painting of the same theme (Fig. 292, 1882). If we compare this pair to "Mi Fu Bowing to the Stone" published in *Ren Bonian zhenjihuaapu* 任伯年真跡畫譜 (Manual of Authentic Paintings by Ren Bonian; Fig. 293, 1887),¹⁷ we see that the hanging scroll in the China Art Gallery under Ren Bonian's name is actually closer to Yu Li's work than to Ren Bonian's own.

¹⁷ Later on this book was re-printed as *Ren Bonian shanmian huagao* 任伯年扇面畫稿 (The Sketches of Ren Bonian's Fan Painting), edited by Fu Hua and Cai Geng, Shanghai: Guji shudian, 1982.

Among the three paintings attributed to Ren Bonian in the China Art Gallery, Palace Museum and Xu Beihong Memorial Gallery, two are dated 1882 while all three bear genuine seals. If these paintings which appear under Ren Bonian's name mentioned above are indeed authentic, was it normal for a student to publish a painting manual such as the *Tingyulou huapu* in which the compositions are not his own creations but the copies of Ren Bonian's work? Besides, as this painting manual was published in 1889 when Ren Bonian was still alive, did not Ren Bonian mind that his student stole his compositions? If these three paintings were forged by someone else after Ren Bonian's death, is it possible that the forger also made use of compositions by Yu Li that he had already published in *Tingyulou huapu*?

Such examples which might be relevant to Ren's followers often bear correct seals, present a more genuine brushwork and a more accurate imitation of his style. As these paintings also contain a number of Ren's standard items of composition and present themes favoured by the master, which are also so close to the pictures in the *Tingyulou huapu*, that we have to suppose them to be by Yu Li or by another artist after Yu Li's composition.

It is not easy to tell the authenticity or otherwise of paintings attributed to Ren Bonian without a detailed examination and understanding of his style and personal traits in different periods. As Fan Ruo has written,

When Bonian painted, he thought very hard about the composition. As soon as he lifts his brush, the speed of brushwork is as fast as wind and rain. And his method

of drawing outlines is also extremely accomplished.¹⁸

伯年作畫，亟費構思，及提筆，則急如風雨，鉤勒法，
亦極精熟。

In accordance with the statement above, Ren Bonian often made sketches to practise a new composition, although his painting appears to have been dashed off in a moment of inspiration. As well as making sketches before he painted, Ren Bonian also brought paper with him for a quick drawing wherever he saw any inspiring scene. In the evenings, he would transform them into proper paintings.

The existing painting drafts by Ren Bonian and a large number of copies of his sketches by Yan Yuan 顏元 not only record Ren's practice and thoughts, but also served as a source for teaching students.¹⁹ Together with the *fenben*, these materials offered Ren's followers the chance to learn and imitate his style. Having amassed a large number of Ren Bonian's schemata, his students put them to good use and were able to present brushwork which is close to the genuine article, so extending the legacy of Ren Bonian beyond the end of the Qing and into the early republican era. We should consider the connections between these forgeries and Ren Bonian's painting manual, sketches and reproductions available to his followers and public since Ren's late years.

¹⁸ Fan Ruo 方若, *Haishang huayu* 海上畫語, unpublished manuscript, Ningpo Antique Conservation Institute; cited in Ding Xiyuan, *Ren Bonian — nianpu, lunwen, zhencun, zuopin* 任伯年-年譜、論文、珍存、作品, Shanghai, 1989, p. 94

¹⁹ These sketches are published in *Yan Yuan mo Ren Bonian huagao* 顏元摹任伯年畫稿 (Yan Yuan's copy of Ren Bonian's sketch works), 60 pieces, Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1959, edited by Yan Yuan's son — Yan Wenliang 顏文樑.

Background Sources for Studying Forgeries of Ren Bonian's Figure

Painting:

Forgery Making and Illustrations for *Dianshizhai* and other publishers

Apart from sketches as direct sources for copying, reproductions of Ren Bonian's work published widely since the mid-1880s also provide us with information on the popularity of Ren Bonian and the impact brought about by these publications on the making of the forgeries.

In 1885, *Shen Bao* 申報 began to publish coloured and black-and-white reproductions of Ren Bonian's painting.²⁰ For instance, "Pictures of Gods" in colour or black and white, "Three Auspicious Rams to Start a Year's Good Luck", "Writing on the Banana Leaf", "Mi Fu Paying Homage to a Stone", "New Year Picture", "Listening to the *Qin*", and flower paintings were reproduced as hanging scrolls. People could purchase them either mounted or un-mounted. The choice of the subject-matter is rather cheerful, popular and auspicious; the price ranged from three *jiao* to one *yuan* (in foreign currency), so that ordinary people could afford a reproduction of a famous painting to hang at home. Although we have not found any surviving examples of these reproductions, judging from the advertisement on *Shen Bao*, it was obvious that among the sixteen selected painters, including the Yuan master Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 and the Qing painter Fei Danxu, Ren Bonian's name came

²⁰ Ren's work was advertised in *Shen Bao* from 1885 onward. The example here is from the front page of the *Dianshizhai huabao*, the late fifth month of 1886, no. 8.

first. And among thirty-four selected subjects, ten items by Ren Bonian were reproduced.

As the advertisement showed a great interest in the metal-and-stone calligraphers in the calligraphy section, those reproductions of Ren Bonian's painting also presented the contemporary fashion in art, the popular taste and the market. It was without doubt that Ren Bonian was highly considered and his style appreciated by the common people.

In 1885, *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 also published a series of Ren Bonian's *Ren Bonian ketu huagao* 任伯年課徒畫稿 (Sketches for Teaching Students), namely images of historical figures and poetic landscapes.²¹ Following the success of the *Dianshizhai*, Hu Weizhou 胡薇舟 carved one hundred pictures by Ren Bonian from his own collection as woodblock prints and published the *Ren Bonian zhenji huapu* 任伯年真跡畫譜 (Manual of Authentic Paintings of Ren Bonian) in the autumn of 1887. The title for the manual was written by Wu Dacheng 吳大澂, and the prefaces written by Wang Ziching 王子卿 and Yu Yue 俞樾. There are forty-six figure paintings, forty-five flower and bird paintings and 9 landscape paintings carved as woodblock prints. Most of the pictures simply bear a single seal or signature of the painter. Only two pictures "Walking with Stick 溪山策杖" and "Peach Blossom and Bird 桃花鸚鵡" have an inscription and date, the former reads "December, the winter of *bingxu* year of Guangxu (1886), Shanyin Ren Yi wrote in Shanghai 光緒丙戌冬十二月，山陰任頤寫於滬"

In his preface to *Ren Bonian zhenji huapu* 任伯年真跡畫譜 (Manual of

²¹ Ren Bonian drew these *baimiao* 白描 sketches in the first and second months of 1885. These pictures were published in *Dianshizhai huabao* weekly from the end of the 5th month in 1885. The original sketches are collected in the China Art Gallery, Beijing.

Authentic Paintings of Ren Bonian, 1887), Wang Ziching 王子卿 wrote:

Mr. Hu Weizhou acquired a hundred genuine works of Ren Bonian with joy when he sojourned in Shanghai. Through the viewing, he was moved by the painter's many-sided talent and his mastery in figure, landscape, bird-and-flower and insect paintings. [Ren Bonian's] work is indeed a must for students. Therefore Mr. Hu hastened to hand over them to the printer, so as to be in circulation.

胡君薇舟僑寓滬濱，喜得君伯年手繪百頁，持以見視，凡人物、山水、花鳥、草蟲各具精妙，洵爲後學津梁。胡君亟付剞劂，以廣其傳。²²

In the second preface, Yu Yue 俞樾 too commented that Ren Bonian's subjects are antique in spirit.²³ For Ren Bonian was good at different subjects and his paintings resonate with a classical touch and are lovely to behold. His works were not only highly regarded and well accepted by his contemporaries, but were considered worthwhile to publish as a good material for students to learn from.

Owing to the growing business and the success of the lithographic technique, Chao Xun 巢勳 collected works of contemporary famous painters

²² The first preface of the *Ren Bonian zhenji huapu* 任伯年真跡畫譜 (Manual Book of Authentic Painting of Ren Bonian, 1887; reprinted by Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1982.

²³ The second preface, *ibid.*

into his new edition of *Jieziyuan huazhuan siji — Zengguang mingjia huapu* 芥子園畫傳四集—增廣名家畫譜 (Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual fourth series — Supplement to Painting Manual by Contemporary Masters) in 1897.²⁴ Eight landscape paintings (dated 1887); six figure paintings (not dated) and six bird and flower paintings (dated 1888) by Ren Bonian were included in Chao's publication.

Through those publications, members of larger audience were offered chances to form their own impressions about the style of Ren Bonian's painting. The colourful reproductions not only enabled viewers to appreciate his painting profoundly, they might also provide opportunities for people to copy his pictures.

The other important impact brought by the publications was that Ren Bonian's fame and his work were even more widely spread through both advertisements and the reproductions themselves.

As Wang Tao said in his poem in 1875, Ren Bonian was regarded as one of the most excellent contemporary artists.²⁵ Yang Yi also described that "before (Ren Bonian) was forty (1880), he had won a great reputation both north and south of the Yangzi River. 年未及壯，已名重大江南北".²⁶ So before *Dianshizhai* Studio first published his paintings in 1885, Ren Bonian had already found his place in Shanghai and achieved great success as a professional painter. After Ren Bonian's pictures became available to the

²⁴ Chao Xun first published the first three series of the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual* as a set of lithographic imprints in 1888. The fourth version comprised of a set of four volumes: the first theoretical, the last three pictorial, and contained five fascicles. The *siji*, the new figure painting series was available on the market in 1897.

²⁵ "Tongzhi nianjian lun Hujian shuhua qijue 同治年間論滬江書畫七絕", published in *Yingruan zazhi* 瀛壖雜誌, chapter 5, 1875.

²⁶ Yang Yi, *Haishang molin* 海上墨林, 1920; reprinted by Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989, p. 70

general public through prints, he himself became even more famous and busy.

On a seal *hua nu* 畫奴 (Slave to Painting) Wu Changshuo carved for his painter friend in the winter of 1886, the inscription reads:

The painting of Mr. Bonian conveys an agreeable flavour.

People arrived in quick succession to ask for paintings, so that the painter had no leisure time. Thus he changed his name to "Slave to Painting" which is a good characterisation.

伯年先生畫得其趣，求者踵接，無片刻暇，改號「畫奴」，善自比也。²⁷

It offers Wu's observation of Ren Bonian. Under the increasing pressure to paint brought by his growing fame and too many commissions, the painter had to work unceasingly like a slave.

Insofar as Ren Bonian's career was concerned, Zhang Xiong's 張熊 support was critical. Zhang Xiong, as venerable a figure as one can find and a pillar of strength for the classical heritage, brought the young artist under his wing and made him known in the city ever since Ren Bonian came to Shanghai in the late 1860s. Zhang's circle of acquaintances included his student Chao Xun, the editor of the new edition of the *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual* already referred to above. The augmented lithographic edition

²⁷ *Wu Changshuo yinpu* 吳昌碩印譜 (Seal Manual of Wu Changshuo), Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1985, p.69.

enlisted Ren Bonian's help and included twenty of his pictures. Through his personal connections and his own talent, Ren Bonian was able to secure patrons and be introduced to the general public through prints in ways that others might not so easily accomplish.

While publications raised the fame and the market value of Ren Bonian's painting, the chances of coming across forgeries of this famous painter's work became higher.

In addition to being famous and popular, Ren Bonian embodied the artistic vocabulary of contemporary Shanghai. His work carries a strong personal flavour and identity, while his subjects are often cheerful and friendly, so that copy-makers may have found it worthwhile to forge his work or sell pictures under his name.

Although there can be no certain answer to the question of who were most deeply involved in the making of forgeries, we hope that providing analysis of suspected copies, and by reviewing works relating to his close students, collectors and the City Guard Temple as a contemporary artistic centre, and by investigating the reproductions and the printed manuals of his painting as background sources, the reasons for Ren Bonian's rise and the circumstances of the numerous counterfeits of his figure painting appearing since his time can finally be better understood.

VII. CONCLUSION



VII. CONCLUSION

Ren Yi, self-styled Bonian (1840-1895), was one of the most popular and remarkable painters in Shanghai in the second half of the nineteenth century. During his thirty years of activity, Ren brought fresh subject-matter and new idioms into portraiture, figure painting and flower-and-bird works. His reworking of traditional themes of painting not only make him a central figure in Shanghai School, but also mark the first wave of the modern era of Chinese painting. The monk-painter Xu Gu wrote "Instead of following the old rules, his brushwork always performs new ideas. He is outstandingly talented."¹ The late revolutionary artist Xu Beihong considered Ren to be "the One Chinese painter in these three hundred years after Qiu Ying".² Despite such evaluations of Ren's brilliance, my study explores the artist as a key person whose work reveals an unusually vigorous artistic scene in a period when culture generally has been considered to be in decline.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, China was under the influence of the unstable political climate, social reform and Western stimuli. The treaty ports, especially Shanghai, were highly developed in such a strange, mixed cultural background and the complex historical moment. Many artists came to Shanghai to seek a livelihood. In order to please the new middle-class patrons and the competitive art market, the painters no longer

¹ Xu Gu, the funeral scrolls for Ren Bonian, collection of Zhejiang Provincial Museum; cited in Wang Jingxian's "Ren Bonian qi ren qi shi", p. 15.

² Xu Beihong, "Ren Bonian Pingzhuan" (1950), foreword of *Ren Bonian huaji* 任伯年畫集 (Paintings by Ren Bonian, 1840~1895; primarily from Tan Tsze-Chor's (Chen Zhichu) collection, Singapore, 1953).

isolated themselves in their studios, their choice of subject matter also had to move towards the taste of non-scholarly patrons. Being one of the most talented artist-immigrants, Ren Bonian's subject matter is inspired by the popular legend, historical stories and the scenes from life. While the traditional painting has gradually lost its vitality by the end of the Qing, Ren Bonian's pictures were divorced from the pure ink-play of the literati or the slavish imitation of the past work, and reached a wider variety of people. Apart from drawing on a wide range of subjects, he experimented with new techniques. Ren Bonian not only learned from the Jin and Tang traditions and Chen Hongshou through Ren Xiong and Ren Xun, he also absorbed elements of folk art, woodcut prints, and applied Western drawing techniques and imported pigments to his objects.

The descriptions of the realistic world and cheerful tonality in Ren's pictures indeed have more visual immediacy and popular appeal. From the series of reproductions of Ren Bonian's work commissioned by *Shen Bao*, a nationally distributed paper and one of the very few Chinese-language papers read by a whole range of readers in the Qing empire, they offer some measure of the high regard and popularity in which Ren's art was held.

By moving to extricate figure painting from the prescriptive canon of the literati amateurs, and from exploring the inexhaustible vitality of the real world, Ren Bonian not only satisfied the taste of new patrons, but also opened up a way to the new meaning of art.

Research Prospects

Much concern has been laid on the artistic development after Ren Bonian's time since no period of Chinese history has challenged Chinese painting as greatly as the twentieth century, said the modern scholars:

This period is characterized by economic strife and political upheavals. The psychological burden carried by the people of China, including her artists, has been enormous. To an extent greater than ever before in Chinese history, intellectuals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have come to question every aspect of Chinese civilization, including her traditional philosophical, political, social, and economic systems. All of these systems have undergone dramatic reforms in the twentieth century.³

However, before artists largely began to adopt western methods in the twentieth century, the painters, especially those active in Shanghai, the cultural centre and the home of the most important painting school of nineteenth-century China, had to face the transformation led by the falling Qing empire, economical changes, foreign stimuli and a reconstructed society. They were forced to concern themselves with fundamental questions regarding their self-identities as painters and the position of traditional Chinese painting under such special circumstances. Further discussion on the changing

³ J.F. Andrews and Kui-Yi Shen, *A Century of Crisis*, p.80

concepts of “traditional Chinese painting”, identity of “painter”, and the artists’ new relationship with politics and patrons would be essential to our understanding of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Chinese art history. We also hope that more attention could be paid to the early western art education and organisation in Shanghai in comparison to Japan before the turn of the twentieth century.

While contacts between Shanghai and Nagasaki were frequent during the late nineteenth century, it is worth noting that the Chinese and Japanese port cities, respectively, had quite different responses to all things Western. Although Shanghai was the centre of Western activity in late imperial China--with a significant presence of foreign architecture, Christian-based schools and Western technologies in the foreign quarter-- the reform and complete Westernisation in both politics and art did not occur in Shanghai before the Sino-Japanese War (1894~5) in the same way as it did in Japan. A thorough review on how Shanghai artists negotiated between the two realms of traditional practice and foreign stimuli in comparison to Japanese artists would be significant in future research.

Ren Bonian's Artistic Circle

Jiang Baoling 蔣寶齡 (1871~1840)	Yaoyun 有筠, Ziyan 子延, Xiazhu 霞竹, Qindong Yimin 琴東逸民
Zhu Xiong 朱熊 (1801~1864?)	Jifu 吉甫, Mengquan 夢泉, Diesheng 蝶生, Mochan Jushi 墨禪居士
Fei Danxu 費丹旭 (1802~1850)	Zitiao 子苕, Xiaolou 曉樓, Ouwend 偶翁, Huanxisheng 環溪生
Zhang Xiong 張熊 (1803~1886)	Shoufu 壽甫, Zixiang 子祥, Yuanhu Waishi 駕湖外史, Yuanhu Huayin 駕湖畫隱, Yuanhu Laoren 駕湖老人
Yao Xie 姚燮 (1805~1864)	Meibo 梅伯, Fuzhuang 復庄, Yeqiao 野橋, Damei Shanmin 大梅山民
Ren Qi 任淇 (?~1861)	
Xu Weiren 徐渭仁 (?~1853)	Wentai 文台, Zishan 紫珊
Wang Li 王禮 (1813~1879)	Qiuyan 秋言, Qiu Daoren 秋道人, Baijiao Yanzhu 白蕉硯主, Guajusheng 蝸居生
Hu Zhen 胡震 (1817~1862)	Bukong 不恐, Bishan 鼻山, Hubi Shanren 胡鼻山人, Fuchun Dalingzhang 富春大嶺長
Zhou Xian 周閑 (1820~1875)	Cunbo 存伯, Xiaoyuan 小園, Fanhu Jushi 范湖居士, Cunweng 存翁, Fanhu Yuli 范湖余吏
Chen Honggao 陳鴻誥 (?~1884)	Manshou 曼壽
Hu Yin 胡寅 (?~?)	
Ge Zun 葛尊 (1821~1908)	Zun 樽, Longzhi 龍芝
Ren Xiong 任熊 (1823~1857)	Weichang 渭長, Xiangpu 湘浦, Boshe 不舍

Hu Yuan 胡遠 (1823~1886)	Gongshou 公壽, Shouhe 瘦鶴, Xiaoqiao 小樵, Hengyun Shanmin 橫雲 山民
Xu Gu 虛谷 (1823~1896)	Zhu Xubai 朱虛白, Hairen 懷仁, Juanhe 倦鶴, Ziyang Shanmin 紫陽山 民
Li Chengyu 李承煜 (1824~1890)	Xian'gen 仙根
Qin Zuyong 秦祖永 (1825~1884)	Yifen 逸芬, Lengyan Waishi 楞煙外史
Zhu Cheng 朱僞 (1826~1900)	Chen 琛, Juwei 覺未, Menglu 夢廬, Yuxi Waishi 玉溪外史, Yuanhu Huasou 鴛湖畫叟, Juwei Laoren 覺未老人, Xushan Qiaosou 胥山樵叟
Dai Yiheng 戴以恒 (1826~1891)	Yongbo 用柏, Yongbo 用伯
Fei Yigeng 費以耕 (?~1870?)	Yubo 余伯
Yao Yan 姚鼐 (1828~?)	Xiaofu 小復
Xu Xiaocang 徐小倉 (?~1890?)	Xiang 祥
Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙 (1829~1884)	Weishu 搗叔, Yifu 益甫, Lengjun 冷君, Tiesan 鐵三, Beian 悲龠, Meian 梅龠, Wumen 無悶, Zhao Shuzi 趙叔子
Fei Yiqun 費以群 (?~?)	Gushi 穀士
Sha Fu 沙馥 (1831~1906)	Shanchun 山春, Xiangxi Yuyin 香溪漁 隱
Pu Hua 蒲華 (1823~1911)	Cheng 成, Zhuying 竹英, Zuoying 作英, Xushan Yishi 胥山逸史, Zhongzhu Daoren 種竹道人
Shu Hao 舒浩 (?~1897?)	Pingqiao 萍橋, Pingqiao 平橋, Shuidaoren 水道人
Ren Xun 任薰 (1835~1893)	Fuchang 阜長, Shunqin, 舜琴
Wu Dacheng 吳大澂 (1835~1902)	Qingqing 清卿, Hengxuan 恒軒, Dezhai 憲齋

Sha Ying 沙英 (1835~1878)	Jiaying 家英, Zichun 子春
Gu Ruopo 顧若波 (1835~1896)	Yun 灃, Yunhu 雲壺, Huweng 壺翁
Yin Yuan 尹沅 (1836~1899)	Zhixiang 芷薌, Lisheng 麗生
Yang Borun 楊伯潤 (1837~1911)	Peifu 佩夫, Peifu 佩甫, Baishun, Nanhu Waishi, Jiangdong Buyi 江東布衣, Chachan Laoren 茶禪老人, Nanhu Laoyu 南湖老漁, Huxi Yueyin 湖西月隱
Ren Bonian 任伯年 (1840~1895)	Run 潤, Ciyuan 次遠, Xiaolou 小樓, Yi 頤, Bonian 伯年, Shanyindaoshan Xingzhe 山陰道上行者, Shoudaoshi 壽道士
Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 (1844~1927)	Jun 俊, Junqing 俊卿, Xiangpu 香圃, Xiangbu 香補, Cangshuo 倉碩, Changshi 昌石, Cangshi 倉石, Foulou 缶廬, Foudaoren, Buchao 補巢, Kutie 苦鐵, Pohe Tingzhang 破荷亭長, Wuhu Yingai 五湖印丐
Wu Guxiang 吳穀祥 (1848~1903)	Qiunong 秋農, Qiupu 秋圃, Pingshan Huayin 瓶山畫隱
Hu Zhang 胡璋 (1848~1899)	Tiemei 鐵梅
Wu Youru 吳友如 (1850~1893)	You 猷, Jiayou 嘉猷
Gao Yong 高邕 (1850~1921)	Yongzhi 邕之, Lian 李龢, Kuli 苦李, Longgong 聾公, Chian Shanmin 赤岸山民
Lu Hui 陸恢 (1851~1920)	Youkui 友奎, Lianfu 廉夫, Juanan 狷庵, Pofuan Zhuren 破佛庵主人
He Yanbei 何研北 (1852~1928)	Yu 煜
Chao Xun 巢勛 (1852~1917)	Ziyu 子余, Songdaoren 松道人, Songhua Guanzhu 松華館主
Ren Yu 任預 (1853~1901)	Lifan 立凡

Wang Qian 汪謙 (?~?)	Yishou 益壽
Ni Tian 倪田 (1855~1911)	Baotian 寶田, Mogeng 墨耕, Modaoren 墨道人, Moweng 墨翁, Biyue Anzhu 璧月庵主, Mogengfu 墨耕父
Huang Shanshou 黃山壽 (1855~1919)	Yao 曜, Xuchu 旭初, Lisheng 麗生
Zheng Wenzhuo 鄭文焯 (1856~1918)	Xiaopo 小波, Junchen 俊臣, Shutong 叔同, Lenghong Cike 冷紅詞客, Dahe Shanren 大鶴山人, Hedaoren 鶴道人
Li Zengxi 李增禧 (1857~1921)	Xiangsheng 祥生
Yan Yuan 顏元 (1860~1934)	Chunsheng 純生, Banlong Jushi 半聾居士
Yu Li 俞禮 (1862~1922)	Dafu 達夫, Suian 隨庵
Li Fu 麗馥 (?~?)	Xianggu 蕓谷
Yang Yi 楊逸 (1864~1929)	Dongshan 東山, Lushi 魯石, Wumen 無悶, Guanxueweng 盪雪翁
Wang Yiting 王一亭 (1867~1938)	Zhen 震, Bailong Shanren 白龍山人
Li Boyuan 李伯元 (1867~1906)	Baojia 寶嘉, Nanting Tingzhang 南亭亭長
Yao Yuqin 姚虞琴 (1867~1961)	Jingying 景瀛, Yuyin 漁吟
Cheng Zhang 程璋 (1869~1938)	Dezhang 德璋, Yaosheng 瑤笙
Ren Xia 任霞 (1870~1920)	Yuhua 雨華
Chen Nian 陳年 (1876~1970)	Banding 半丁, Bansou 半叟, Banchi 半痴, Jingshan 靜山, Jinglu 靜廬, Jianhu Diaotu 鑒湖釣徒, Zhuhuan Jushi, Jishan Banlao 稽山半老, Zhuhuanzhai Zhuren 竹環齋主人, Banyelao 半野老
Ren Jin 任堇 (1881~1836)	Jinshu 堇叔

Bibliographical Sources

A. Research on Shanghai School

From the late Qing dynasty to the early republican China, the group of painters active in Shanghai was often entitled *Haishang Huajia* 海上畫家 (Shanghai Painters), *Haishang Huapai* 海上畫派 (Shanghai School) or *Hai Pai* 海派. If we consider the term of the two titles carefully, we shall find that "Shanghai Painters" and "Shanghai School" came from different origins, include different ranges of painters and have different meanings.

In Jiang Baoling's *Molin Jinhua* 墨林今話 (1852), the author introduces around ten painters who came from Shanghai, such as Xu Weiren 徐渭仁, Zhang Xiong 張熊, Wang Li 王禮 and Wu Xizai 吳熙載, and does not consider them as belonging to a particular group. On 15 September 1879, a poem by Nanhu waishi 南湖外史 (Yang Borun 楊伯潤) was published in *Shen Bao* in praise of contemporary Shanghai painters and calligraphers. The poet regarded Zhang Xiong, Hu Yuan, Wu Guxiang, Zhu Cheng, Tang Xunbo and Ren Bonian as "Six Masters of Shanghai 海上六子". In *Songnan mengying lu* 淞南夢影錄 (1883), Huang Xiexuan 黃協塤 mentioned "there were more than a hundred famous painters and calligraphers in Shanghai who originally came from other provinces. 各省書畫家以技鳴滬上者不下百餘人".¹ His record does not yet imply any notion of the forming of a painting group. The title of "Shanghai Painters and calligraphers" was not introduced until 1919, Yang Yi said: "*Haishang Molin* is to remember *Shanghai calligraphers and painters*. 海上墨林者，誌上海之書畫家也".² Yang's book collects the records of more than seven hundred Shanghai painters from the Song to Qing dynasties, hence this author did not conceive of "Shanghai Painters" as a particular painting group of a certain time, but people who sold their art and were active in Shanghai through centuries.

The origin of the term "Shanghai School" (*Hai Pai*) is believed to relate to the argument in the field of Chinese Opera during the late Qing dynasty and early republican China. There were two camps of Chinese opera, one settled in Beijing performing in the classical and traditional manner, the other group in Shanghai, following the public interests in the city, with new inventions in singing style and costume. People entitled the two different opera styles "Beijing School" (*Jing Pai*) and "Shanghai School" (*Hai Pai*) according to their locations. Later on, these two titles were also widely applied to rival painting and literary groups based in Beijing and Shanghai. The term *Hai Pai* originally means the Shanghai painters whose styles

¹ Huang Xiexun, *Songnan mengying lu*, Shanghai 1883; reprinted Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1989, p. 139.

² Yang Yi, *Haishang molin*, prefaced dated 1919, Shanghai: Yuyuan shuhua shanhui, 1920; reprinted: Taipei: Wenshizhe, 1988, foreword.

present a mixture of aggressiveness and vulgarity in tone. This term in relation to painting was seen in *Haishang huayu* 海上畫語 while Fang Ruo 方若 (?~1945?) criticised a painter, Wang Qian 汪謙: "Wang Qian (self-styled Yishou), a native of Xiaoshan. He is known as an eccentric painter imitating the painting style of his fellow townsmen Ren Weichang and his brother and presenting a mixture of aggressiveness and vulgarity in tone. His keen learning of the two Rens' style showed the strong impact of the two Rens on *Hai Pai* (Shanghai School)! Yet he is like some followers of Wu Changshuo who did not realise the master's strength in brush, who learned only the outlook but not the spirit inside his paintings. Even though the bronze bells (i.e. the master painters) have not been abandoned, the tiles and axes (i.e. the followers) want to sound loudly; this is how *Hai Pai* has become established. 汪益壽謙，蕭山人，畫摹同里任渭長弟兄，以霸氣而雜市氣，別成怪家。...汪學任畫，如此學法，唯恐任畫之不成海派乎！猶今學吳昌碩者，學者筆不能得其力，學其形不能學其神。黃鐘未必毀棄，瓦釜遂自雷鳴，海派於是乎又成。"³ It is not until the late 1920s through the broad discussion on cultural developments in Beijing and Shanghai that the scholars and art critics began to evaluate Shanghai painters in the late nineteenth century and discuss "Shanghai School", its definition, membership, significance and place in Chinese art history without showing prejudice. For example, Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, the author of *History of Chinese Painting* 中國繪畫史(1937), clearly concludes that Xugu, Ren Bonian, Zhao Zhiqian, Zhang Xiong and Wu Changshuo, all of whom were active during 1862~1908 in Shanghai, were members of the Shanghai School. He also points out, "During the Tongzhi and Guangxu periods, the politics was worrying and the painting style is varied. Most painters moved to Shanghai and sold their works there to support themselves. For financial reasons, they were forced to paint what was preferred by patrons in order to earn more money. Therefore, the style of painting gradually declined to please popular tastes, some were made to be very cheerful and colourful, some were expressive and exaggerated. It was the beginning of the Shanghai School [*Hai Pai*]. 同治光緒年間，時局益懷，畫風日漓，畫家多蜚居上海，賣畫自給，以生計所迫，不得不稍投所好，以博潤資，畫品遂不免日流於俗濁，或柔媚華麗，或劍拔弩張，漸有海派之目。"⁴

Prior to three decades ago, research interest in the Shanghai School was almost non-existent in the west. There were two exceptions, a brief introduction on the Shanghai School given by Michael Sullivan in his *Chinese Art in the Twentieth Century* in 1959, and an exhibition-*Masters of the Shanghai School of Painting* in the Prague National Gallery in 1968, organised by Josef Hejzlar, a Czechoslovakian diplomat posted in China.⁵

Since the late 1970's, western scholars and connoisseurs began to show increasing interest

³ Cited in Shan Guoqiang, "Haipai gailun 海派概論", *Yiyuan duoying* 藝苑掇英, no. 53, 1995, p.13

⁴ Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, *History of Chinese Painting* 中國繪畫史, Taipei, 1937, vol. 2, p. 196.

⁵ Josef Hejzlar, *Chinese Watercolours*, London, 1978

in the performance of Shanghai painters. Several doctoral theses and essays have been written on this subject. In James Cahill's essay of 1977 written for the Japanese series on Chinese literati paintings, *Bunjinga Suihen*, a brief outline of Shanghai School works was provided. There are more discussions on the Shanghai School by the following scholars in the west: Chu-tsing Li's "Innovation in Shanghai" (1979), James Cahill's "The Shanghai School in Later Chinese Painting" (1988), Stella Yu Lee's "The Art Patronage of Shanghai in the Nineteenth century" (1989), Claudia Brown and Ju-hsi Chou's essays for the exhibition catalogue, *Transcending Turmoil-Painting at the close of China's empire 1796~1911* (1992). Richard Vinograd's study of "Self-Portrait of Ren Xiong" appears in his *Boundaries of The Self: Chinese Portraits 1600~1900* (1992), Shan Guolin's "Painting of China's New Metropolis: The Shanghai School 1850-1900" in *A Century in Crisis* (1998), Jonathan Hay's "Painting and Publishing in Late Nineteenth-century Shanghai" and Tsao Hsing-Yuan's "A Forgotten Celebrity: Wang Zhen (1867~1938), Businessman, Philanthropist, and Artist" in *Art at the Close of China's Empire* (1998), Anita Chung's "Reinterpreting the Shanghai School of Painting" in *Chinese Paintings from the Shanghai Museum 1851~1911* (2000), Wen C. Fong's "Painters in Shanghai and Guangdong" in *Between Two Cultures* (2001), and Jonathan Hay's "Painting and the Built Environment in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai" in *Chinese Art: Modern Expressions* (2001).

The Chinese publications, Ding Xiyuan's *Xugu Yanjiu* 虛谷研究 (1987), Gong Chanxing's "Ren Weichang shengping luekao 任渭長生平略考" (1981) and "Xiwen huajia Wi Youru-jiantan Wu Youru yanjiu zhong de jige wenti 新聞畫家吳友如一也談吳友如研究中的幾個問題" (1990), Wang Shucun's "Huajia Qian Huian yu minjian nianhua 畫家錢慧安與民間年畫" (1981), Feng Tianqiu's "Zhu Cheng, Ni Tian yu Hai shang hua pai 朱僊·倪田與海上畫派" (1991) and Liu Fanru's *Selected Essays on Modern Chinese Painting* 近代中國繪畫論文選 (1995), also provide some discussions on major Shanghai painters. The life of the influential artist Wu Changshuo has been well documented by his son Wu Dongmai in the *Biography of Wu Changshuo* 吳昌碩傳 (1963) and Wang Geyi's "Wu Changshuo xiansheng zhuanlue 吳昌碩先生傳略" (1961). Li Mocun's "Cong Foulushi kan Wu Changshuo 從缶廬詩看吳昌碩" (1961), Tan Shaoyun's "Yi Wu Changshuo xiansheng 憶吳昌碩先生" (1982), Wu Changye's "Wu Changshuo de huazhong shiyou Ren Yi han Pu Hua 吳昌碩的畫中詩友任頤和蒲華" (1992), Cui Jing's "Wu Changshuo yu Zhang Menggao - jianji Jingu Huapai han Hai Pai de guanxi 吳昌碩與張孟皋一兼及津沽畫派和海派的關係" (1992), Ding Xiyuan's "Wu Changshuo hua zhenweitan 吳昌碩畫真偽談" (1992), Gong Chanxing's "Wu Changshuo yu Qi Baishi zhi yitong 吳昌碩與齊白石之異同" (1992) and Hong Liang's "Wu Changshuo 'qishi yiho yi zi xing' kao 吳昌碩「七十以後以字行」考" (1992) offer discussions from many perspectives. Huang Ke's "Qing mo Shanghai jinshi shuhuajia de jieshe huodong 清末上海金石書畫家的結社活動" (1987) offers us a clear knowledge of the eleven art societies and their activities in the late Qing dynasty Shanghai. Besides, fine catalogues of *Masterpieces of the Four Rens* 海上四任 with an introduction by Pan Shenliang (Beijing, 1992) and *New Interpretation of Ming and Qing Painters* forward by Xue Yongnian (Shanghai, 1994) provide

a thorough look at works of Shanghai School masters.

At the National Museum of History and the Chang Foundation (Hongxi Art Gallery 鴻禧美術館) in Taipei the main focus in Chinese painting is on the late Qing and early Republic period. The paintings of Shanghai School are displayed annually in these institutions with exhibition catalogues, for instance *Late Chinese Painting, 1850~1950* with a foreword by Shi Yunwen (National Museum of History, 1997).

Several doctoral dissertations also afford studies on the Shanghai School. Elizabeth Bonnet's thesis, "Zhao Zhiqian (1829-1884), a Nineteenth Century Chinese Artist: His Life, Calligraphy and Painting" (Yale University, 1984), considers Zhao's individual style rather than the generalities regarding the Shanghai School. Britta Lee Erickson's "Patronage and Production in the Nineteenth-Century Shanghai Region: Ren Xiong (1823-1857) and His Sponsors" (Stanford University, 1997), considers Ren Xiong as a founding leader of the Shanghai School. She examines two of the artist's greatest works and uses them to illuminate the respective artist-patron relationships out of which they grew. She also stresses the new aesthetic values and significance of Shanghai School painters. Hongxing Zhang's dissertation at SOAS, University of London (1999), focuses on Wu Youru's paintings of battle scenes and his involvement with the *Dianshizhai Huabao*.

In 1993, Jason Kuo established a research project on visual culture in Shanghai from 1850 to 1930, which involved a collaboration between Western and Chinese scholars. A series of workshops, seminars and an exhibition have been taking place in the Palace Museum in Beijing which are recorded in "Haipai huihua zhuanji" published in *Yiyuan duoying* 藝苑掇英 (nos.53 and 54, 1995). The conferences carried out by the project were also held in College Park of the University of Maryland and in New York City in 1998. In December 2001, over 60 scholars from the west and east again gathered in Shanghai for a celebrated conference on the "Shanghai School" and an exhibition organised by Duoyun xuan 朵雲軒. These conference papers were published in *Haipai huihua yanjiu wenji* 海派繪畫研究文集 (Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 2001) which indeed brought new aspects and enriched the appreciation of the Shanghai School, as a transition between the art of the late Empire and that of early modern China.

B. Research on Ren Bonian

A number of early Chinese texts provide information in the traditional manner concerning Ren Bonian's life, his art and his circle. They include Jiang Baoling's *Molin jinhua* (1852), Zhang Mingke's *Hansongge tanyi suolu* (1908), Yang Yi's *Haishang molin* (1919), Xu Ke's *Qingbai leichao* (1917), Wu Changshuo's poems and essays (collected in *Wu Changshuo tanyi lu*, edited by Wu Dongmai, 1993) and Fan Ruo's *Haishang huayu* (undated). These texts are concerned

with the facts of his contemporary circumstances rather than with evaluating or criticising Ren's art. Such works of scholarship are very vital and essential to our knowledge of the time and society Ren Bonian lived in.

Ren Bonian is always referred to as an exemplar among the Shanghai School painters. However, very little extended study has been done on Ren Bonian. Apart from the preface for an exhibition for "The Celebration of Ren Bonian's Centenary" in 1939 and an essay "Ren Bonian pingzhuan" (The Biography of Ren Bonian) by Xu Beihong in 1950, serious publications on Ren Bonian did not appear in China or in the west until the late 1970's.⁶

Two doctoral theses on Ren Bonian appeared in 1978 and 1981 in the United States. James Han-Hsi Soong's "A Visual Experience in Nineteenth-Century China: Jen Po-nien (1840-1895) and the Shanghai School of Painting" (Stanford University, 1978), focused on Ren's life, art and his influence on painters of the Shanghai School. He gave an overview of Ren Bonian's painting and its stylistic links with previous masters. But he was unable to obtain some sources with the consequence that there is some incorrect information in the section of Ren Bonian's biography.⁷ The other dissertation is by Stella Yu Lee, "Figure Painting of Ren Bonian (1840-1896): The Emergence of a Popular Style in Late Chinese Painting" (University of California, Berkeley, 1981). A Chinese translation of her study on the artist was published as *Rang yishushi de jianghe xiangqian liuqu - Ren Bonian: qingmo shimin huajia* 讓藝術史的江河向前流去 - 任伯年: 清末的市民畫家 (1978).⁸ Besides, Lee's research on Ren's patronage was refined and published in the chapter "The Art Patronage of Shanghai in the Nineteenth Century" in *Artists and Patrons* edited by Chu-ting Li in 1989.⁹ Finally, there is a thesis by Roberta Wu at New York University, on "Ren Bonian's Portraits and the Representations of Modern Chinese Artists" which focuses on the relationship between Ren Bonian, his circle and the public media, such as *Shen Bao* (Ph. D. 2001).

Since 1960, Chinese scholars have spent much time on research into Ren Bonian's background and biography. Gong Chanxing published a collection of some original sources of Ren Bonian's life and art. In *Ren Bonian yanjiu* 任伯年研究 (1982),¹⁰ he compiled a chronological list of Ren's paintings collected in China and provided important references. Another Chinese scholar, Ding Xiyuan, produced several articles on this subject. Notably,

⁶ Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 "Ren Bonian pingzhuan 任伯年評傳", *Duo Yun*, no. 3, May 1982, p. 216-219 The essay is also in *Xu Beihong yishu wenji* 徐悲鴻藝術文集, edited by Xu Boyang 徐伯陽, Jin Shan 金山, Taipei, 1987, vol. 2, p. 601-607

⁷ Such as the date of Ren's death, the place of birth, the time he was in Shanghai, the relationship with the Little Sword Relics, how he met Ren Xiong and Ren Xun, and so on. Soong did not provide reliable sources for these events in his dissertation.

⁸ Stella Yu Lee, 讓藝術史的江河向前流去 - 任伯年: 清末的市民畫家 *Rang yishushi de jianghe xiangqian liuqu - Ren Bonian: People's Painter*, Yishu art publishing house, 1978.

⁹ *Artists and Patrons*, edited by Chu-ting Li, Kansas, 1989

¹⁰ Gong, Chanxing 龔彥興, "Ren Bonian chuanguo sixiang shutan 任伯年創作思想初探", *Ren Bonian yanjiu* 任伯年研究, Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1982

Ding's *Ren Bonian — nianpu, lunwen, zhencun, zuopin* 任伯年-年譜、論文、珍存、作品 (1989) seeks to establish a reliable background study on Ren's life.¹¹ His research is extremely helpful and important to our study on this subject, and resulted in a solid biography of Ren Bonian written by Wang Jingxian in 1987, published in 1992.¹²

As early as 1962, several important essays about Ren Bonian's artistic style were published in *Yilin conglu* 藝林叢錄 (no.2), including Cheng Shifa's "Chen Laolian yu Ren Bonian 陳老蓮與任伯年" (p.322-325), Qian Tang's "Ren Bonian de renwu hua 任伯年的人物畫" (p.325-327), Yu Feng's "Chuanshen miaoshou Ren Bonian" (p.329-331). Later on, scholars have also studied some important paintings by Ren which present events in his personal life. Namely, Gong Chanxing's "Cong 'Dongjin huabie tu' kan Ren Bonian de zaoqi huodong 從「東津話別圖」看任伯年的早期活動" (*Duoyun*, no.4, 1983), Huang Yongquan's "Ren Bonian zunian kao 任伯年卒年考" (*Meishu Yanjiu*, no.1, 1984), Jian Nan's "Ye tan 'Dongjinhua bie tu' 也談東津話別圖" (*Duoyun*, no.7, Shanghai 1985), "Ren Bonian huihua yishu de yuanyuan 任伯年繪畫藝術的研究" (*Duoyun*, no.8, 1985) written by Xu Weida and Lao Jixiong, and *Ren Bonian* 任伯年 (Taipei: Jinshiu chubanshe, 1994) by Xue Yongnian.

In the west, Hans van der Meyden also wrote an article "The Life and Works of Ren Bonian (1840-1896)" in 1992. Meyden divided Ren's life as well as the style into four periods and tried to strip the artist's biography of some apocryphal fabrications. Due to the lack of first-hand evidence, he did not give a very persuasive study on some problematic parts, such as Ren's early life and forgeries of his paintings. In the same year, Richard Vinograd published his research on portraiture, including some remarks on Ren Bonian's three portraits of Wu Changshuo, discussed in his chapter on "Portraits and Position in Nineteenth-Century Shanghai".¹³

C. Reproductions of Ren Bonian's Painting

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¹¹ Ding Xiyuan 丁羲元, *Ren Bonian-nianpu, lunwen, zhencun, zuopin* 任伯年-年譜、論文、珍存、作品, Shanghai, 1989

¹² Wang, Jingxian 王靖憲, "Ren Bonian qiren qiyi 任伯年其人其藝", *Ren Bonian zuopin ji* 任伯年作品集, Peiking: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992, p. 1-66

¹³ R. Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600-1900*, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

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NEW WINE IN OLD BOTTLES

THE FIGURE PAINTING OF REN BONIAN (1840-1895)
IN THE CONTEXT OF NINETEENTH CENTURY
SHANGHAI

Chia-Lin Yang

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VOL II

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VOLUME II

PLATES



(Left) Fig. 1. Ren Bonian, *Parting by the River Xiaojia* 小峽江話別圖, 1866.

Ink and colour on paper, 96 x 21.7 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

(Right) Fig. 2. Ren Bonian, *Lady Among the Almond Blossoms* 玉樓人醉杏花天, 1865.

Ink and colour on paper, Palace Museum, Beijing.



Fig. 3. Fei Danshu, Washing the Silk,
undated. Detail, ink and colour on paper, 113 x 30 cm,
Duoyunxuan. Source: Haishang huihua chuanji,
Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 2000, p. 22.

Detail of Fig. 2.



Fig. 4 Wu Youru, Lively life in the Yu Garden 豫園把戲圖, late 19th century. Woodcut print.
Source: Wang Shucun, *Zhongguo minjian nianhuashi lunji*, Tianjin: Yangliuqing chubanshe, 1991, fig. 84.



▼Fig. 5 Ren Bonian, The Lady Figure After Laolian 仿老蓮仕女圖, 1865. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 125 x 61cm, Duoyun Xuan, Shanghai



Fig. 6 Ren Qi, Figures Beneath Cherry Trees 櫻托丹源, Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 147.5 x 37.7 cm, Nanjing Museum



▼ Fig. 7 Ren Bonian

Two female Immortals Offering Gifts 女仙圖

1874. Hanging scroll, collection unknown.

Source: *Rongbaojai huapu* 榮寶齋畫譜, Beijing 1995, p.52



▼ Fig. 8 Chen Hongshou

Immortals Offering Gifts 仙人獻壽

After 1637. Hanging scroll,

ink and colour on silk 182.1 x 98.1cm

National Palace Museum, Taipei



▼ Fig. 9 Ren Xiong

Magu Offering Her Birthday Wishes

麻姑獻壽, undated..Detail, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 162.3 x 86.2 cm, The Palace Museum, Beijing





Fig. 10. Ren Bonian, Figure after Chen Hongshou 仿
陳洪綬人物圖, 1874. Hanging scroll, ink on paper,
137.3 x 32.6 cm, Shanghai Museum. Source: *Illustrated
Catalogue of Selected Works of Ancient Chinese
Painting and Calligraphy* 中國古代書畫圖目, vol. 5,
Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990, p. 419, plate Hu 滬
1-4589.



Fig. 11 Ren Bonian
Portrait of Zhou Xian
范湖居士四十八歲小像
1867. Hanging scroll, ink on
paper, 129 x 49.5 cm
Zhejiang Province Museum



Fig. 12 Farmer 山樵, after Zhao Mengfu
Jieziyuan huazhuan 芥子園畫傳, 1818
Woodcut print; reprinted Beijing: Renmin
meishu chubanshe, 1995, p. 226.



Fig. 13 Ren Xiong, Portrait of Lu You 陸游像
Yuyue xianxian zhuan 於越仙賢傳, 1856
Woodcut print, 17.5 x 11.2 cm, Xiaoshan wangshi
yanghetang version 蕭山王氏養和堂刊本



Fig. 14 Ren Bonian
Portrait of Ren Songyun 任淞雲像
1869. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper,
173.1 x 47.3 cm, The Palace Museum, Beijing



Fig.15 A Recluse 高士, after Jin Nong 金農
Jieziyuan huazhuan 芥子園畫傳, 1818
Woodcut print; reprinted Beijing: Renmin
meishu chubanshe, 1995, p. 244.



Detail of Fig. 14



Detail of Fig. 15



Fig. 16 Ren Bonian
Flower and Lady 花容玉貌, 1874. Detail,
ink and colour on silk fan, 25 x 25 cm,
Nanjing Museum



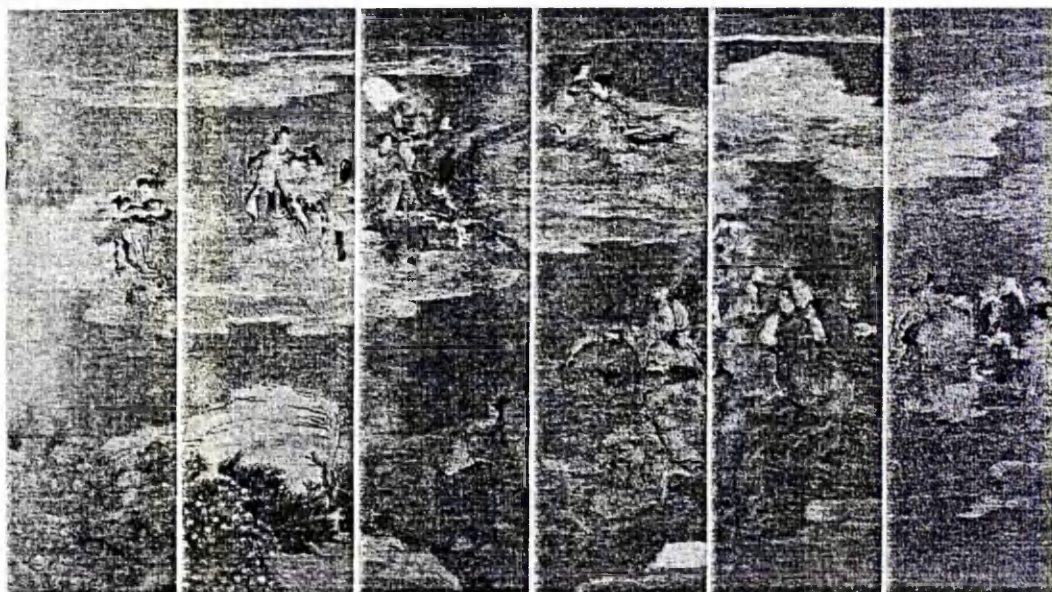
Fig.18 Chen Hongshou
Portrait of Yingyig 鶯鶯像, 1628-44. Detail,
*Illustration of the Romance of the Western
Chamber* (North Version) 北西廂記插圖,
20 x 14 cm, Beijing Library



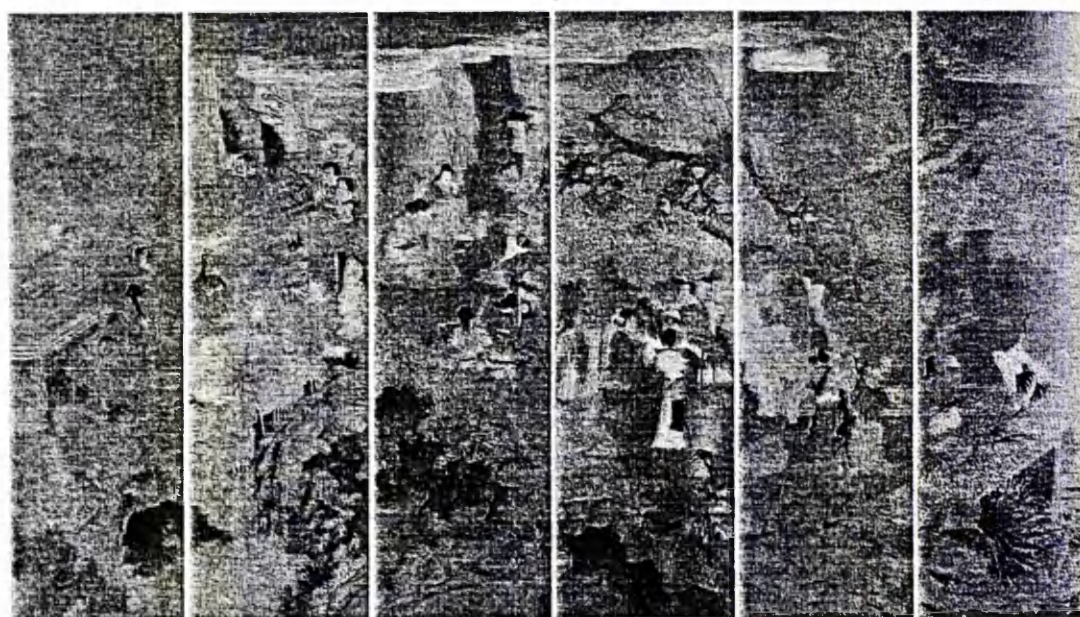
Fig. 17 Ren Bonian, Plum and Lady 臨窗觀梅,
1878. Detail, hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper,
96 x 42.6 cm, Liaoning Province Museum

Fig. 19 Ren Bonian, Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes 群仙祝寿

Undated. Twelve hanging scrolls, ink and colour on gold foiled paper, 206.8 x 59.5 cm, Shanghai Artist Association. Source: *Ren Bonian qunxian zhushou tu*, Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1983.



Panel 1-6 (from right to left)



Panel 7-12 (from right to left)



Fig. 24 Ren Bonian
Immortals Offering Their
Birthday Wishes, detail of
The panel 2, Hexianggu 何仙姑



Fig. 25 Ren Qi
Wishing the Good Official Rank
to the Son 仿陳洪綬送子得魁圖
Detail, 97.6 x 42.6 cm,
Colour and ink on silk, Zhejiang
Province Museum



Fig. 26 Ren Xiong
Mao Yujiang 毛玉姜,
Liexian jiupai 列仙酒牌
1854, 17.5 x 7.4 cm
Woodcut print,
Collected by Xia Ziyi



▼Fig. 27 & Fig. 29

Ren Bonian, Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes, Figures From the Panel 2

Undated, Shanghai Artists' Association



Fig 28. Liu Yuan

Bodhisattva Figure after Liu Cen 佛尊,

Lingyange gongchentü, detail, 1668

20 x 12 cm, woodcut print

Wumen zhuhutang version 吳門柱笏堂刊本



Fig 30. Liu Yuan

Yin Zhihong 殷志宏

Lingyuange gongchentü, detail, 1668

20 x 12 cm, woodcut print

Wumen zhuhutang version 吳門柱笏堂刊本



▼ Fig. 33 Ren Xiong

Portrait of Xie Ziran 謝自然

Liexian jiupai 列仙酒牌

1854, 17.5 x 7.4 cm

Woodcut prints, coll. Xia Ziyi



▲ Fig. 31 Ren Bonian

Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes, Detail of the upper scene of the panel 4

Not dated, Shanghai Artists' Association



Detail of Fig. 31



Fig. 32 Xiao Yuncong

Tianwen – Jingniao yixi, *Lisao tu*, 1645

離騷天問京鳥貽喜, 18.3 x 11.2 cm

Woodcut print, Shanghai Library

Fig. 34 Ren Bonian

Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes

Detail of Panel 5



Fig. 36 Ren Bonian

Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes

Detail of panel 9

Fig. 35 Xiao Yuncong

Donghuang taiyi - Jiuge, *Lisao tu*, 1645

18.3 x 11.2 cm, Woodcut print

Shanghai Library



Fig. 37 Xiao Yuncong

Donghuang taiyi-Jiuge of *Lisao tu*, 1645, 18.3 x 11.2 cm,

Woodcut print, Shanghai Library

Fig. 38 Ren Bonian

Immortals Offering Their Birthday Wishes

Detail of musicians in the panel 9



Fig. 39 Xu Zhen, *Nucaizi ji chatu* 女才子集插圖,

Qing emperor Shunzhi (1644–1661), collected in Dalian Library,
published in *Zhongguo meishu chuanji* 中國美術全集, vol. 20, p.

200

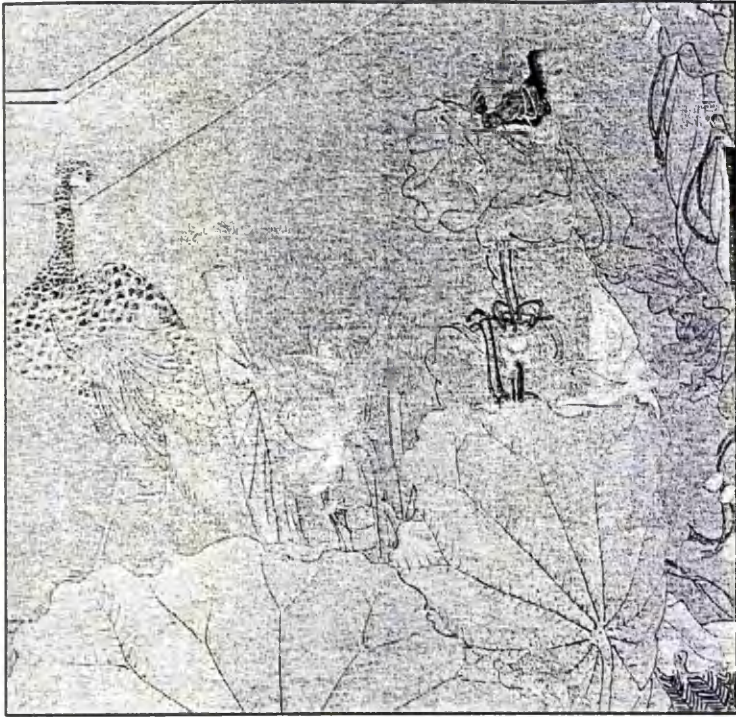


Fig. 40
Ren Bonian
Immortal Offering Their
Birthday Wishes
Detail of Panel 11
Not Dated
Shanghai Artists' Association



Fig. 41
Chen Hongshou
Mu Cheng, Romance of the
Western Chamber 西厢記目成
Detail, 1639, 20.2 x 13 cm
Woodcut Print
Zhejiang Province Museum

Fig. 42 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui,
1874. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on
paper, former collection of Ye Qianyu.
Source: Wang Lanxi, *Zhongkui baitu*,
Lingnan meishu, 1990, plate 33



Fig. 43 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui
Catching a Demon, 1878. Hanging
scroll, ink and colour on paper, 132 x
66.2 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery. Source:
Haishang si Ren jingpin, vol. 2, p. 165.



Fig. 44. Bada Shanren, Landscape, Flower and Calligraphy, 1698. Three leaves from an album of sixteen leaves, ink and light colour on paper, The Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. Source: R. Barnhart, *Master of Lotus Garden*, Fig. 107.



Fig. 45 Gao Yong guan xi 高邕觀喜, Seal of Gao Yong on the left corner of the leaf, Detail of Fig. 45 (middle).



Fig. 46 Bada Shanren, Flowers, 1694

Album leaf mounted as hanging scroll, ink on Paper, Wang Fangyu collection, USA. Source: R. Barnhart, *Master of Lotus Garden*, Fig. 87. The second colophon in the lower part was written by Yang Xian 楊峴 in the seventh month of year yiwei (1895). This painting was formerly in Wu Changshuo's collection.





Fig.47 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui, undated (ca. 1878-80).
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai
Museum.

Detail of Fig 47, the calligraphic brush strokes on the
outline of Zhong Kui's garment.



Fig. 48 Bada Shanren, Swallows, undated. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 175 x 87.6 cm, Shanghai Museum.



Fig. 49 Ren Bonian, *Minas* after Bada Shanren
1886. Hanging scroll, ink on paper,
80.3 x 44.6 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, vol.1, p. 89



Fig. 50 Bada Shanren, *Minas*, 1692
Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 105.4 x 36 cm,
Han Peiyuan collection. Source: R. Barnhart,
Master of the Lotus Garden, Fig. 72



Fig. 51 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui, 1880.
Hanging scroll, red ink on paper, 95 x
39.8 cm, Shanghai Museum.

Gao Yong's inscription reads:

When I was young, poets were
shocked by my talent,
But what use is reading? I'd rather act
the fool.
Today I wish to borrow that
gentleman's sword,
To light up this dark earth and sky.

Painted by Shanyin Ren Yi, inscribed
by Renhe Gao Yong, Shanghai.

少小名驚翰墨場，讀書無用且佯狂。
我今欲借先生劍，地黑天昏一吐光。
山陰任頤畫，仁和高邕題於上海並識

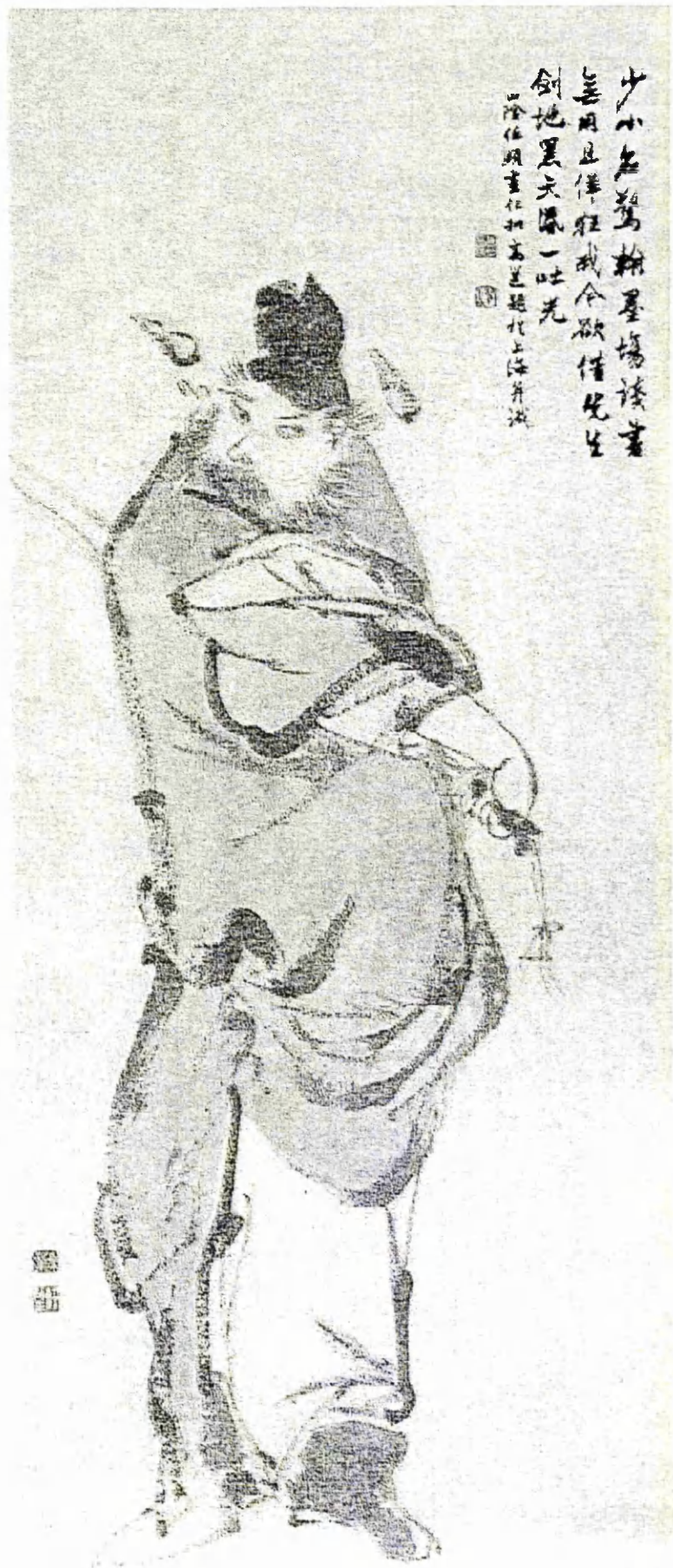


Fig. 52. Yan Yuan 顏元, Zhong Kui, a copy of Ren Bonian's painting, undated. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, collection unknown. The original painting of Ren is now lost. We can trace the original composition and the colophon through this copy by Yan Yuan, Ren's student. Source: Wang Jingxian ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, vol. 2, p. 495.



The colophon reads:
Not drawing Zhong Kui
going to the court, but
describing him playing
with his sword and
reciting poems. The
states are peaceful and
dutiful nowadays, there
is no need to trouble Mr.
[Zhong Kui] to eat the
demons.

不繪鍾馗趨殿時
寫他彈鋏哦新詩
如今畿輔稱寧服
無勞先生吸魅魑

Fig. 53 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui, 1880. Hanging scroll, red ink on paper, 133.2 x 66.4 cm, Central Academy of Art, Beijing.



Fig. 54 Ren Bonian, Writing on Banana Leaf, 1887. Folded fan, ink and colour on paper, 18.5 x 56.7 cm, Nanjing Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, vol. 2, p. 195.

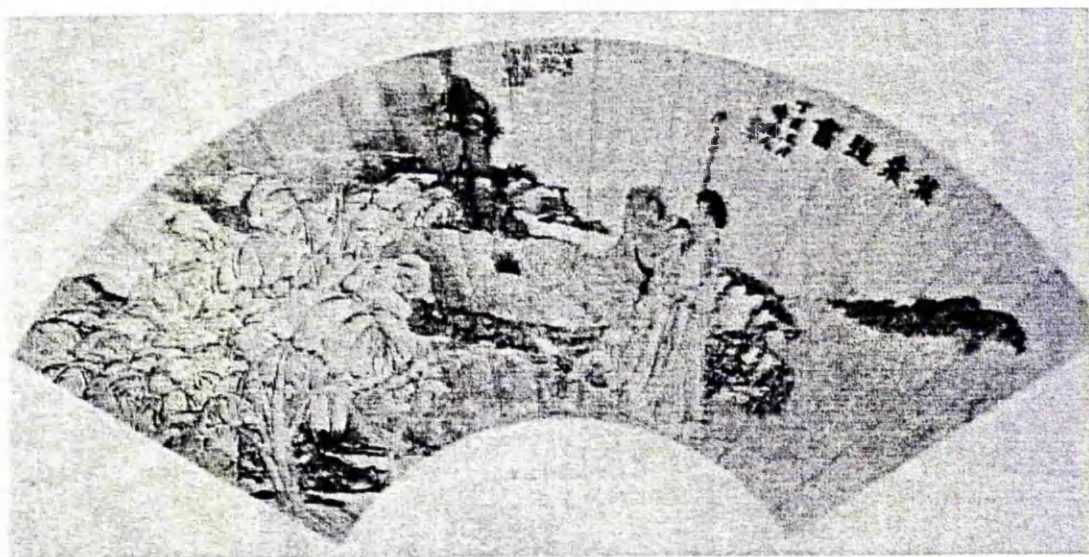


Fig. 55 Hua Yan, Writing on Banana Leaf, Undated. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, Shanghai Museum.



Fig. 56 Ren Bonian, Golden Valley Garden
1888. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper,
134 x 64 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing.

Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, vol. 1, p. 67



Fig. 57 Hua Yan, Golden Valley Garden
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk,
Shanghai Museum



Fig. 58 Ren Bonian, Xie An and His Concubines 東山攜妓 1891 (see also Fig. 217). 182 x 96.2 cm, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery, Beijing. Source: Xue Yongnian, *Master of Chinese Painting — Ren Bonian*, Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1994, p. 29.

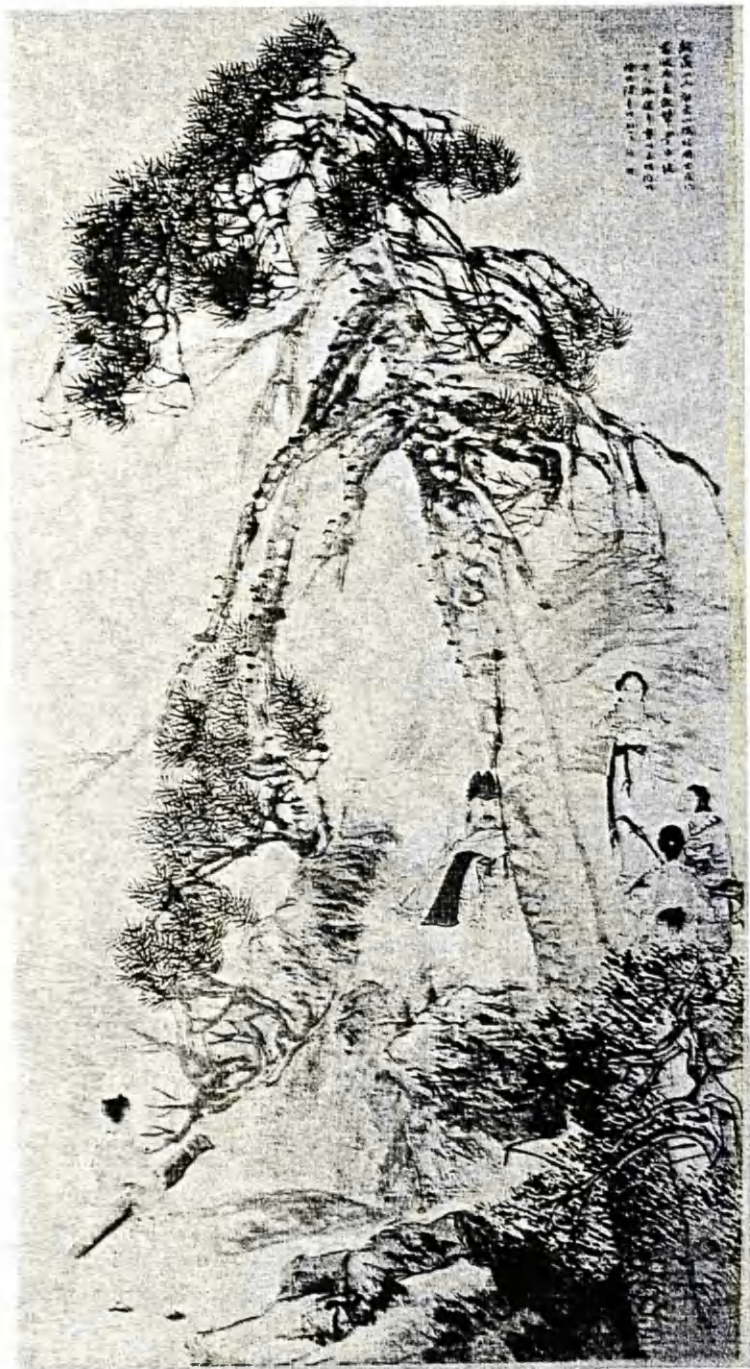


Fig. 59 Ren Bonian, Yuju in Meditation 玉局參禪 1888, 123 x 53 cm, ink and colour on paper, Zhejiang Provincial Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin* 海上四任精品, vol. 2, Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1995, p. 169



Fig. 60

Ren Bonian, Listening to the Flute under a Pine Tree 松下聞簫, 1894, 105 x 54.8 cm, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery, Beijing. Source: Xue Yongnian, *Master of Chinese Painting — Ren Bonian*, Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1994, p. 29



Fig. 61 Ren Bonian, Xiaohong and Jiang Baishi, 1882.

184 x 45.5 cm, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery, Beijing.

Source: China Art Gallery ed., *Ren Bonian jingpin ji*,

Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, plate 40.

▼Fig. 62 Ren Bonian, Xiaohong and Jiang Baishi, 1882.

Size not given, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery, Beijing.

Source: Zhang Xiaoling & Dong Yue ed., *Ren Bonian renwu huafeng*

Sichuan: Chongqing chubanshe, 1997, plate 23.



Fig. 63 Ren Bonian, Xiaohong and Jiangbaishi, undated, 145 x 41 cm, ink and colour on paper, Xu Beihong Memorial Museum. Source: Mu Meihua ed., *Ren Bonian*, Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1996, plate 177.



Fig. 64 Ren Bonian, Xiaohong and Jiangbaishi, 1883, collection unknown. Source: Wang Jingxian ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, vol. 1, p. 159.



Fig. 65 Yan Yuan, Xiaohong and Jiang Baishi after Ren Bonian, Sketch, China Art Gallery, Beijing. Source: Wang Jingxian ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, vol. 2, p. 494



Fig. 66 Ren Bonian,
Xie An and His Concubine, Detail,
1891, Collection unknown. Source:
Wang Jingxian ed., *Ren Bonian
huaji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu
chubanshe, 1997, vol. 2, p. 327.



Fig. 67 Wu Youru,
Singsong Girls, Lithograph, late 19th
century. Source: *Wu Youru huabao*,
Shanghai: Guji shudian, 1983, vol.
1-3-1, p. 21.



Fig. 68 Anonymous, Singsong Girls,
Photograph, late 19th century
Shanghai. Collection of the Archive
Library, Shanghai History Museum.

▼ Fig. 69 Detail of Fig. 58



Fig. 70 Map of Shanghai, from Hong Kong Directory, 1889. Source: Jonathan Hay, "Painting and the Built Environment in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai", *Chinese Art: Modern Expression*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum, 2001, p. 60.



Fig. 71 Wu Youru, Assembly Place of Brothels in Shanghai, Lithograph, late 19th century. Source: Xue Liyong, *Shanghai jinushi*, Hong Kong: Haifeng chubanshe, 1996, p. 107.

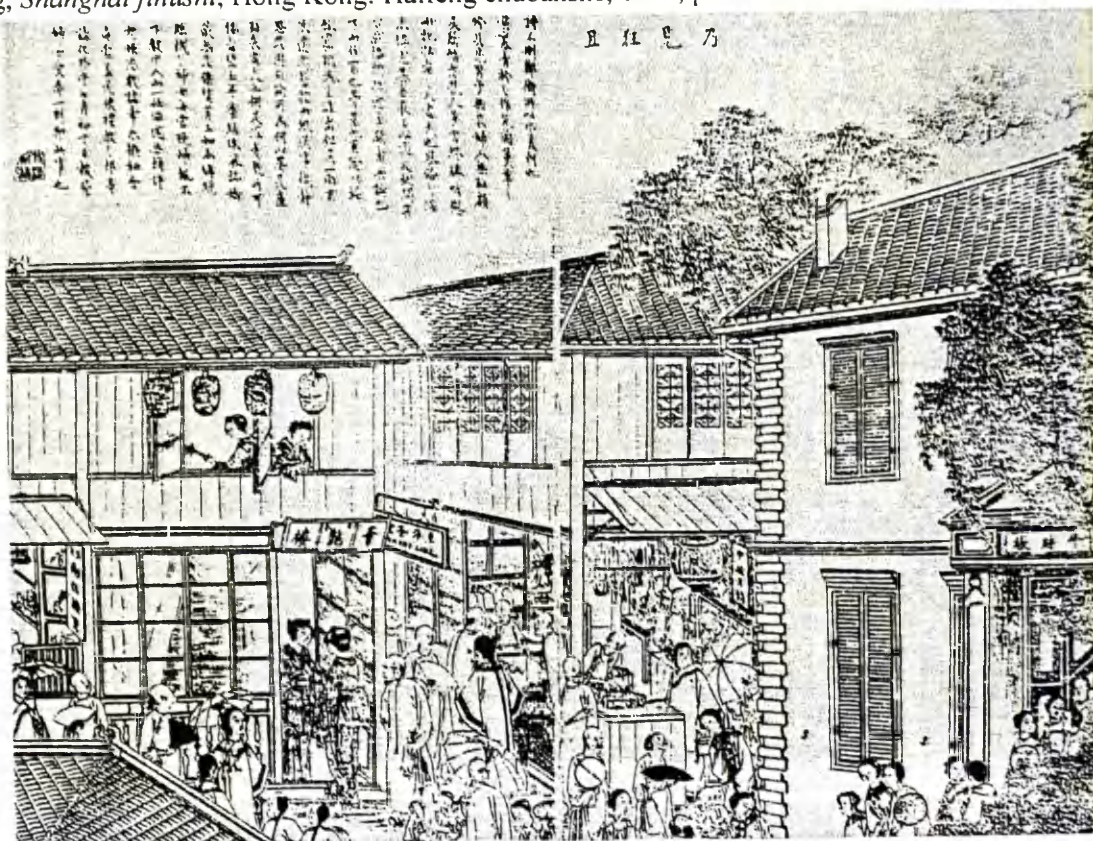


Fig. 72 Anonymous, *Changsan jinu* playing majiang 麻將 with her patrons. Photograph, late 19th century
 Source: *Zhuiyi—Jindai Shanghai tushi* 追憶—近代上海圖史 (Remembering—Illustrated history of Shanghai in recent times), Shanghai Archive Library 上海檔案館 ed., Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1996. p.

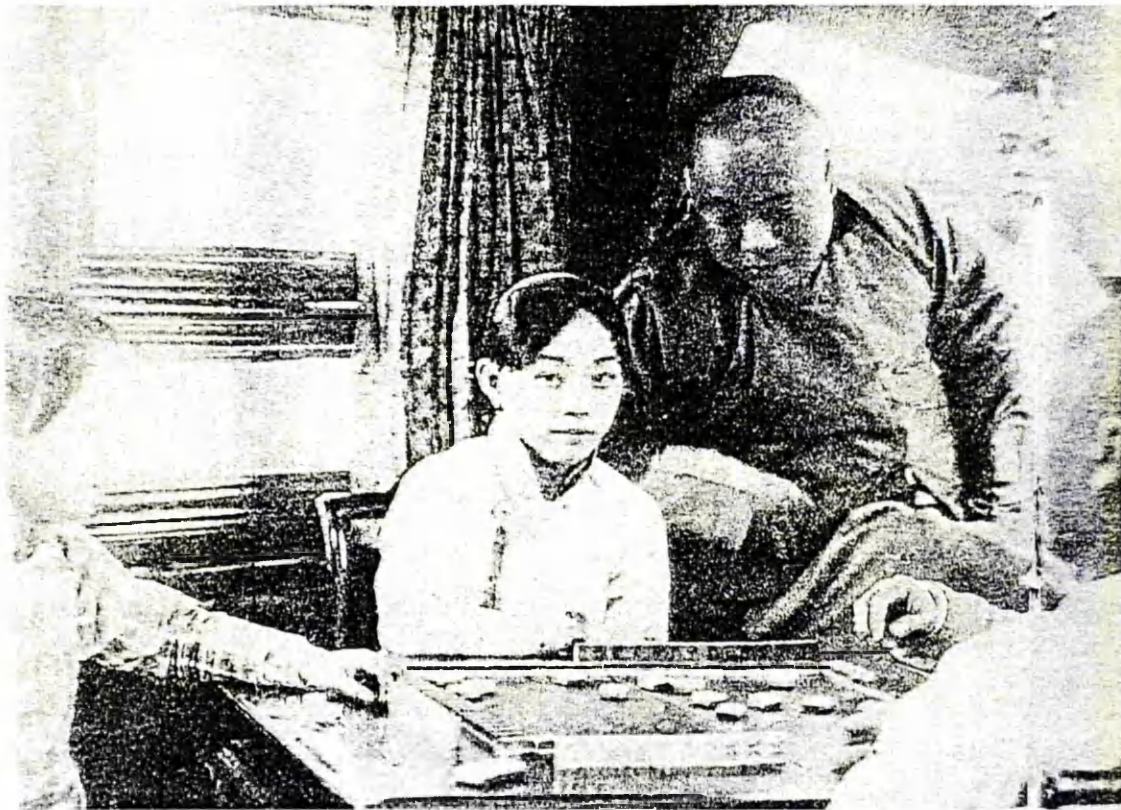


Fig. 73 Wu Youru, *Huayang Yixin* 花樣一新, Lithograph, late 19th century. Source: Xue Liyong, *Shanghai jishi*, Hong Kong: Haifeng chubanshe, 1996, p. 101.



(Left) Fig. 74 Detail of Fig. 73. Sexuality, music and drinking were often involved in social occasions in Shanghai.

(Right) Fig. 75 *Jupiao* 局票, a piece of paper booking an outing with courtesans, it reads "Mr. Zhang Xinbao calls Lin Xin. To the first room of Meiyuan Geisha House, at the junction of Pingwang Street and Sima Road. Serve wine and no delay". Photograph, late 19th century, The Archive Library of Shanghai History Museum.



Fig. 76 Anonymous, Courtesan carried by her male attendant *guinu* 龜奴 (turtle slave) on the street, possibly on their way to see a patron. Photograph, late 19th century, Archive Library, Shanghai History Museum.



Fig. 77 Wu Youru,
Brothels in Sima Road on
Fire. Lithograph, late 19th
century. Source: *Wu Youru
huabao*, Shanghai: Guji
shudian, 1983, vol. 3-11-2,
p. 3.

Wu mentioned that Sima
Road was an assembly place
for brothels in the first line
of the inscription.

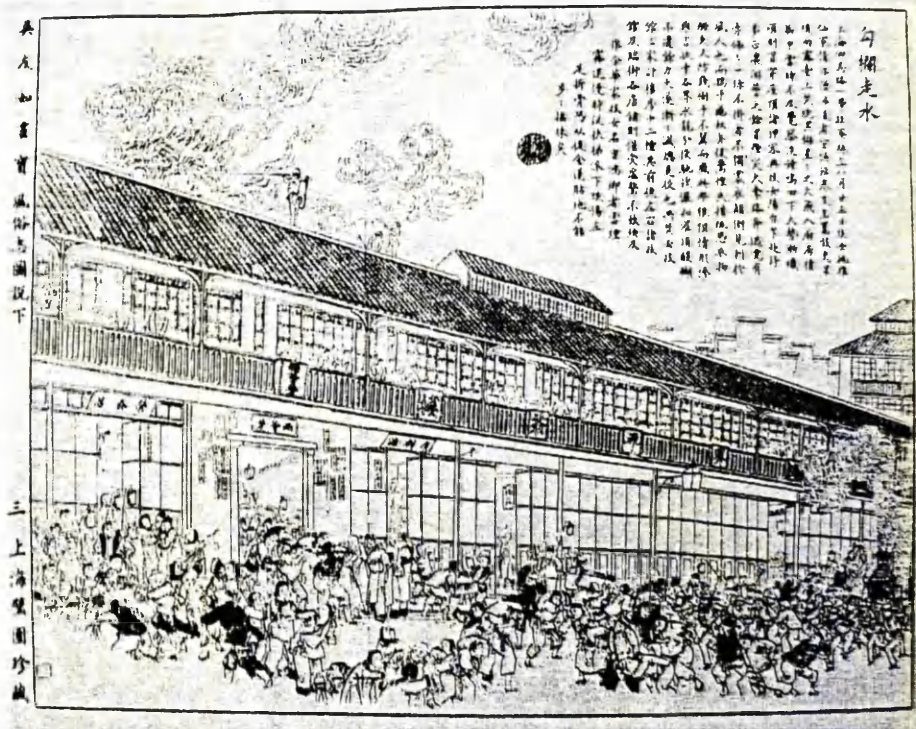


Fig. 78 Anonymous, Street Scene
on Sima Road. Photograph, 1905,
Shanghai History Museum.

There were crowds of teashops,
pleasure quarters, smoking rooms
and fanshops in Sima Road. It was
therefore called Wenhua Road
文化路 (Cultural Road) in the
past.

Fig. 79 Anonymous,
Street Scene of Sima
Road. Photograph, late
19th century.
Source: Shanghai
History Museum ed.,
*Shanghai bainian
lueying* 上海百年略影
(Survey of Shanghai
1840~1940s), Shanghai:
Renmin meishu
chubanshe, 1998, p. 205.



Fig. 80 Fei Danshu, Confession Concerning Love & Sex 懺綺圖 (Yao Xie 姚燮 and his concubines), 1839. Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, 31 x 128.6 cm, The Palace Museum, Beijing.

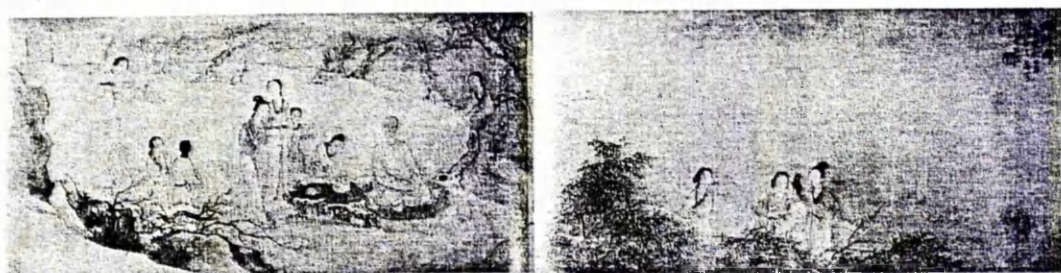


Fig. 81 Detail of Fig. 80.





Fig. 82 Ren Bonian, Lady and Plum 梅花仕女, 1884, 96 x 42.6 cm, ink and colour on paper, Liaoning Provincial Museum. Source: *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 54, 1995, plate 18.

Zhu Xiaozang 朱孝臧 wrote the inscription for the painting



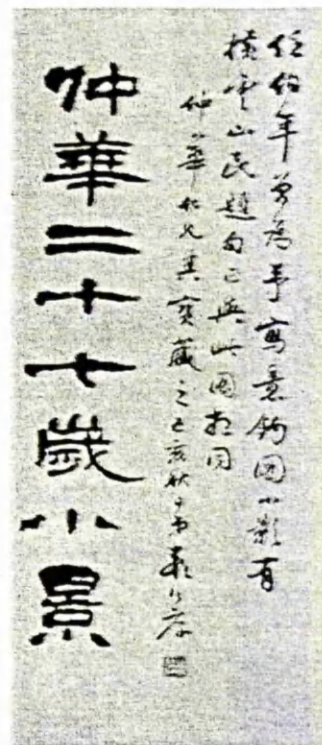
Fig. 83 Anonymous, Portrait of Li Pingxiang 李蘋香. Photograph, late 19th or early 20th century, Shanghai.

Source: Xue Liyong, *Shanghai jiniushi*, Hong Kong: Haifeng chubanshe, 1996, p. 387.

Li Pingxian, a well-known “poet-courtesan”, famed for her ability in literature, painting and calligraphy. She had close connections with Wang Zhen 王震 (Ren Bonian’s student) and Yan Xinhou 嚴信厚. With the help of her artist friends and other patrons, she cleared her debts to the brothel in the early twentieth century and set up the Tianxunge huashi 天韻閣畫室, which was the first painting studio conducted by a professional female artist in Shanghai.

Fig. 84 Detail of the inscription by Yan Xinhou 嚴信厚,
Ren Bonian, Portrait of Ge Zhonghua 葛仲華, 1873,
Beijing Palace Museum (Fig. 185).

The inscription reads: "Ren Bonian once painted a portrait of me
as a fisherman in free-hand style, and Hengyun Mountainman (Hu
Gongshou) added the colophon. [The style of my portrait] is
similar to this picture (Portrait of Ge Zhonghua), which is very
much cherished by Mr. Zhonghua. An autumn day of yihai year
(1875), your brother Yan Xinhou."



▼Fig. 85 Ren Bonian, Loquats and Pheasant 枇杷雉雞,
1886, no size given, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery.
Source: China Art Gallery ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Zhejiang:
Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, p. 9.

This painting is made for Xiaofang 小舫 (Yan Xinhou 嚴信厚).

The inscription reads: "For Mr. Xiaofang's perusal. Please
comment. Five days after snow, the eleventh month of bingxu year (1886), Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian fu."

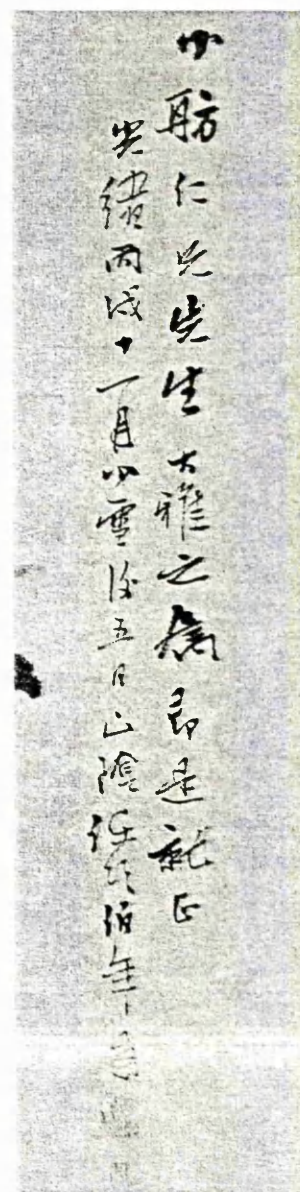


Fig. 86 Ren Bonian, Cat on the Rock,
1889, 92.3 x 48.1cm, ink and colour on paper,
Suzhou Museum. Source: Mu Meihua ed.,
Ren Bonian, Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1996, p. 116.



Detail of Fig. 86. This painting was
dedicated to the owner of Xu Garden

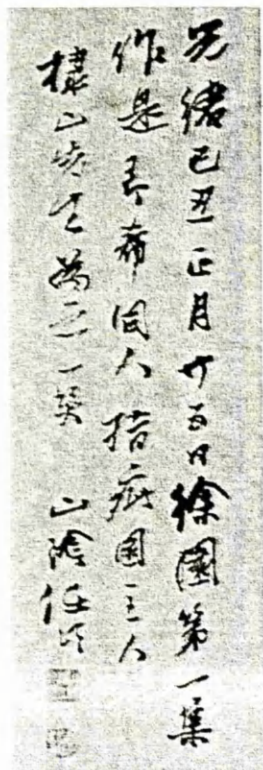


Fig. 87 Ren Bonian, Bird and Magnolia Tree,
1893, 242 x 120.5 cm, ink and colour on paper,
collection unknown. Source: *Chinese Art: Modern
Expression*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum
2001, p. 80, plate 18.



Detail of Fig. 87. This painting was
dedicated to the owner of Yu Garden

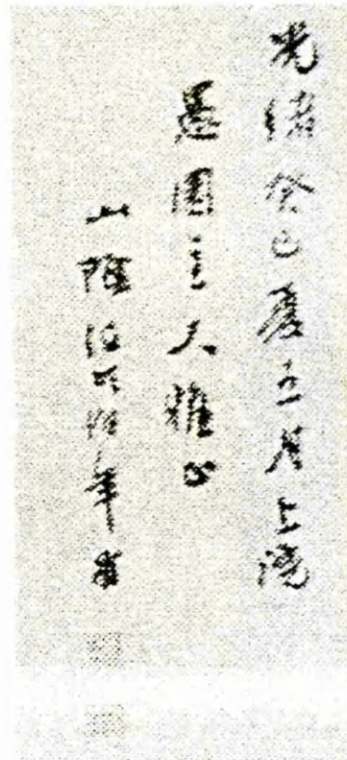


Fig. 88 Wu Youru, Scene of Yu Garden, Lithograph, late 19th century. Source: *Wu Youru huabao*, Shanghai: Guji shudian, 1983, vol. 3-12-1, p. 2



Fig. 89 Yu Garden, Postcard, early 20th century, Archive Library, Shanghai History Museum.



Fig. 90 Wu Youru, Courtesans Playing in a Billiard Saloon, Lithograph, late 19th century. Source: *Wu Youru huabao*, Shanghai: Guji shudian, 1983, vol. 1-3-1, p. 9

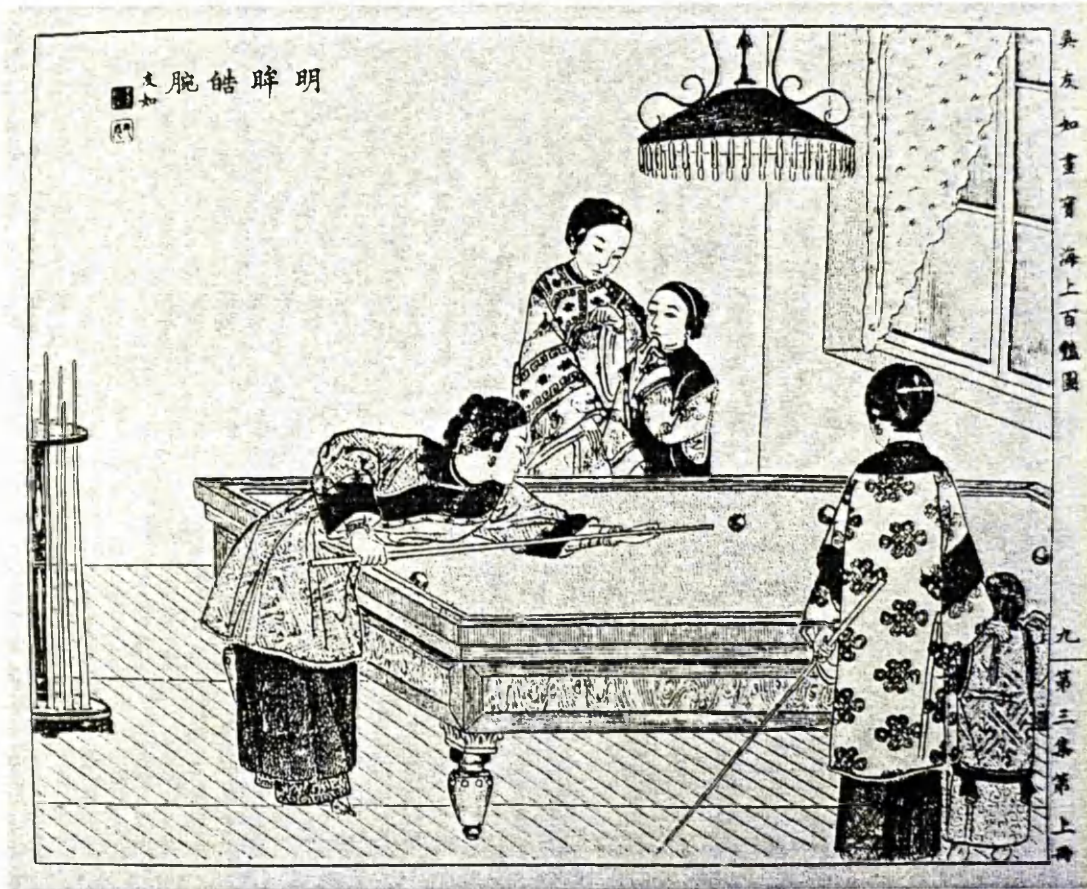


Fig. 91 Anonymous, Photograph of Four Famous Courtesans: (from the left) Lu Lanfen 陸蘭芬, Lin Daiyuxu 林黛玉, Jin Xiaobao 金小寶 and Zhang Shuyu 張書玉 who visited Yu Garden every day. Late 19th century, Shanghai. Source: Xue Liyong, *Shanghai jinüshi*, Hong Kong: Haifeng Chubanshe, 1996, p.147.



Fig. 92 Ren Bonian, Nong Yu, 1870, size unknown, ink and light colour on paper, 76.8 x 40.5 cm, Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art. Source: Ren Bonian, Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988, plate 4



Fig. 93 Ren Xiong, Nong Yu, Woodblock print, 1880 (from *Liexian jiupai* 列仙酒牌, 1850, ; reprinted in *Ren Weichang xiansheng huazhuan sizhong*, Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1985, *Liexian jiupai*, p.



Fig. 94 Wu Youru, Shuyu jinu Being Attacked on the Street, Lithograph, late 19th century.

Source: *Wu Youru huabao*, Shanghai: Guji shudian, 1983, vol. 2-9-2, p.4



Fig. 95 Ren Bonian, Ladies, 1888
Album of twelve leaves, 24 x 38.2 cm,
ink and colour on paper, Beijing Palace
Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren
jingpin*, Beijing: Hebei meishu
chubanshe, 1998, vol. 1, p. 134.

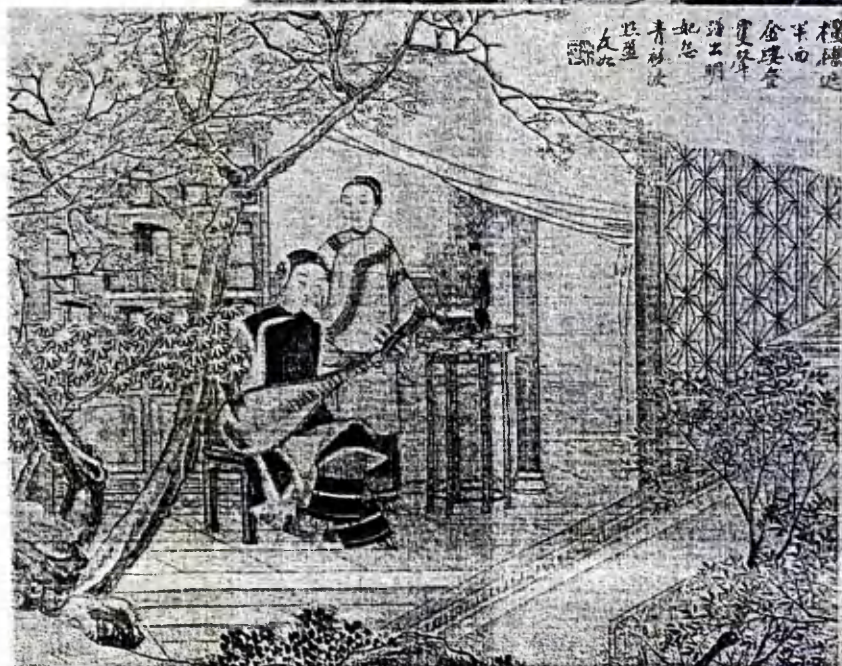


Fig. 96 Wu Youru, Ladies, 1890
Album of twelve leaves, 27.2 x 33.5
cm, ink and colour on silk, Shanghai
Museum. Source: *Chinese Paintings
from the Shanghai Museum
1851-1911*, Edinburgh: National
Museum of Scotland, 2000, p. 99,
plate D.

Fig. 97 Detail of Fig. 95

The maid holds a big pile of books while she and her mistress enjoy a walk. The books may suggest the profession of the latter, *Shuyu jinū* (courtesan of book dwelling). The open design of her neckband is also suggestive of her role as courtesan.



Fig. 98 Detail of Fig. 94

The male servant carries a lantern with “shuyu 書寓” written on it.



Fig. 99 Dianchuntang 點春堂,
The guest hall of Yu Garden
豫園, where Ren Bonian's
Examining a Knife under the Shade
of a Tree (1888) has been displayed.
Photograph, Shanghai, December
2001.

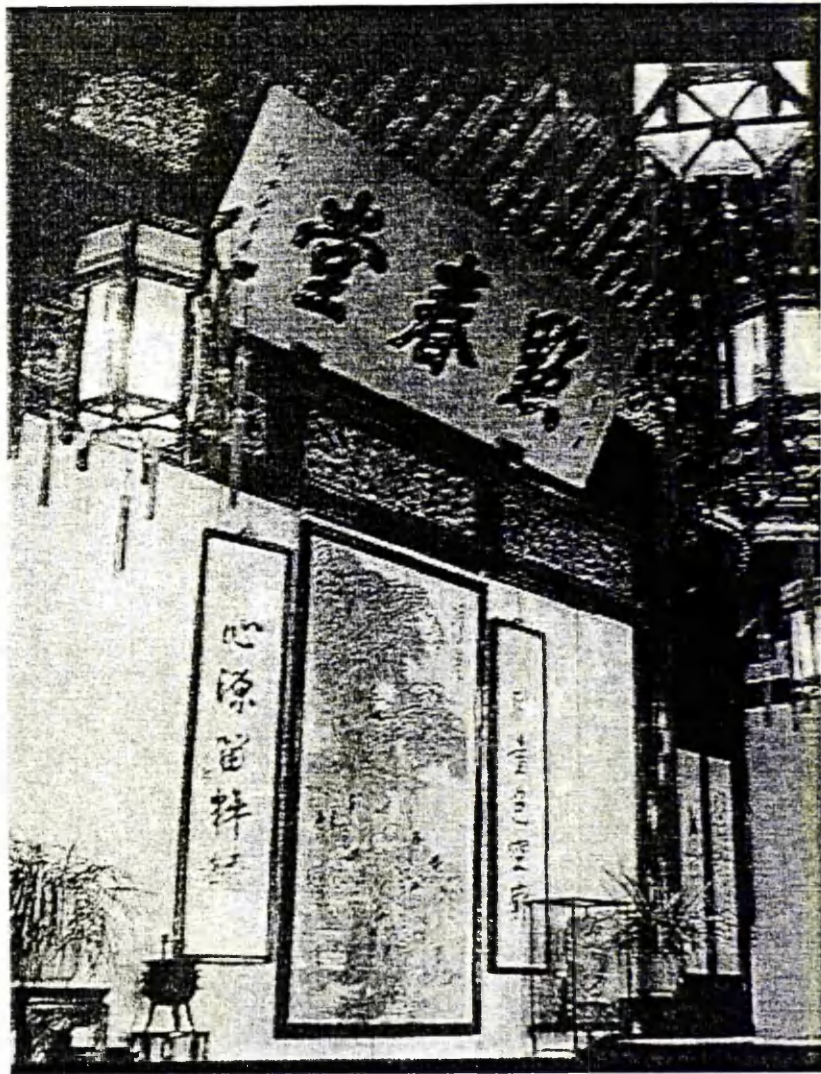


Fig. 100 Anonymous. Huxin Pavilion 湖心亭 of Yu Garden. Postcard, early 20th century, Collection of the
Archive Library, Shanghai History Museum. Yu Garden area was the cultural centre of the old city.

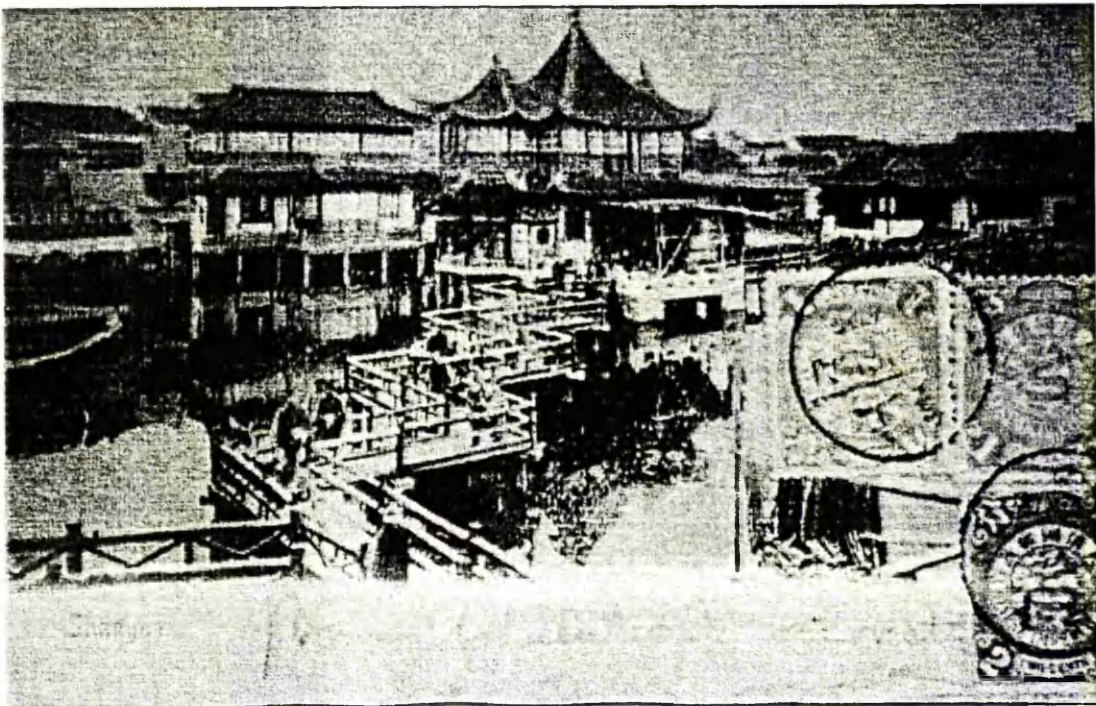
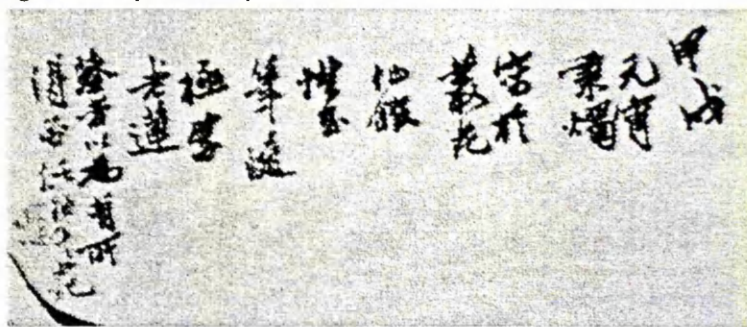


Fig. 101 Ren Bonian, Figure after the style of Chen Hongshou, 1874, 137.3 x 32.6 cm, ink and colour on paper Shanghai Museum. Source: *Illustrated Catalogue of Selected Works of Ancient Chinese Painting and Calligraphy*, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990, vol. 5, p. 419, Hu 1—4589.



▼ Fig. 102 Detail of Fig. 101. Ren Bonian wrote: “Yuanxiao of the year of *jiayu*, by candlelight [I] wrote this in the Fairy House of Crowded Flowers. 甲戌元宵秉燭寫於叢花仙館”. As “flowers” is a euphemism for courtesans, the “Fairy House of Crowded Flowers” suggests the residence of courtesans. This inscription might hint that Ren Bonian possibly celebrated the Lantern Festival until late at night in the pleasure quarters with his friends.



▼ Fig. 103 Ren Bonian, Carrying a *Qin* to Visit a Friend, 1883, 18 x 53 cm, ink and colour on silk fan, Nanjing Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, Beijing: Hebei chubanshe, 1998, vol. 2, p. 190.



► Fig. 104 Detail of Fig. 103 This painting was dedicated to Xiangfu (Yuan Zuzhi 袁祖志).



Fig. 105 Ren Bonian, Three Chivalrous Travellers, 1887. Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, Hong Kong A Gallery. Source: Zhang Xiaoling & Dong Yue ed., *Ren Bonian renwu huafeng*, Sichuan: Chongqing chubansh 1997, fig. 74.



Fig. 106 Detail of Fig. 105, Hongfuji 紅拂妓



Fig. 107 Detail of Fig. 105, Qiuranke 虬髯客



Fig. 108 Ren Bonian, *Three Chivalrous Travellers*, 1867, 114.8 x 43.6 cm, ink and colour on paper, Suzhou Museum
Source: Mu Meihua ed., *Ren Bonian*, Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1996, plate 5.



Fig. 109 Fei Danxu, *Three Chivalrous Travellers* undated, 132 x 33 cm, ink and colour on silk, Private collection. Source: *Zhongguo jindai shuhua tumu* 中國近代書畫圖目, Shanghai, 200 p. 80



Fig. 110 Ren Bonian, Three Chivalrous Travellers,
1880, 122.7 x 47 cm, ink and colour on paper,
Shanghai Museum.



Fig. 111 Ren Bonian, Three Chivalrous Travellers,
1882, 182.1 x 48.1 cm, ink and colour on paper,
Beijing Palace Museum. Source: Mu Meihua ed., *Ren
Bonian*, Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1996, plate 53.



Fig. 112 Detail of Fig. 110, Hongfuji wears an embroidered band *zhemaile* 遮眉勒, which was commonly used among ladies in the Jiangnan area.



Fig. 113 Wu Youru, Wu Youru, Courtesan Making Fun of Patrons, Detail. Lithograph, Late 19th century. Source: *Wu Youru huabao*, Shanghai: Guji shudian, 1983, vol. 3, "Gujin cong'an", part 2, p. 15.



Fig. 114 M. Miller, Portrait of a Shanghai Courtesan, Photograph, 1861~1864. Source: *Shaying zhongguo*, Taipei: Xiongshi tushu gongsi, 1998.



Fig. 115 Anonymous, Portrait of Sai Jinhua 賽金花, a famed Shanghai courtesan. Photograph. Early 20th century, Shanghai. Source: *Xue Liyong, Shanghai jinushi*, Hong Kong: Haifeng chubanshe, 1996, p. 402.

Fig. 116 Ren Bonian, *Three Chivalrous Travellers*, 1887, 82 x 149.5 cm, Affiliate School of Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing. Source: *Yiqu yu jishu - Ming Qing huihua toxi guoji xueshu taolunhui tezhan tulu* 意趣與機杼 --明清繪畫透析國際學術討論會特展圖錄, (New interpretation of Ming and Qing painters), Shanghai, 1994, plate 73



Fig. 117 Attributed to Ren Bonian, *Three Chivalrous Travellers*, 1886, collection of Tsai Chen-Nan, Taipei. Source: *Mingjia Hanmo*, no. 28, May 1992, p. 99



The changing gesture of Li Jing: Li bends much lower to his patron in later paintings by Ren Bonian
 Fig. 118 Detail of Fig. 108, Li Jing (1867) Fig. 120 Detail of Fig. 116, Li Jing and Hongfuji (1887)



Fig. 119 Detail of Fig. 110, Li Jing (1880)



Fig. 121 Ren Bonian,
Looking at the Deserted Country
Solemnly, 131.7 x 31.7 cm, ink and
colour on paper, Nanjing Museum.
Source: Mu Meihua ed., *Ren Bonian*,
Taipei: jinxiu chubanshe, 1996, p.81.



Fig. 122 Figure and Horse,
undated, 115.5 x 43.5 cm, ink
and colour on paper, Beijing
Palace Museum. Source:
Haishang si Ren jingpin, Hebei
Meishu chubanshe, 1998, vol. 1, p. 77



Fig. 125 Detail of the
Seal of Fig. 124

Fig. 124 Hua Yan, Reining in a Horse at the Border,
undated, 124 x 57.1 cm, ink and colour on paper, Shanghi:
Museum. Source: *Hua Yan shuhuai*,
Shan Guolin ed., Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987, p.29

Fig. 123 Figure and Horse, 1890,
96 x 50.7 cm, ink and colour on
paper, Lin Zongyi, Tokyo. Source
Tsuruta Takeyoshi, *Modern
Chinese Painting*, Tokyo, 1974,
plate 48



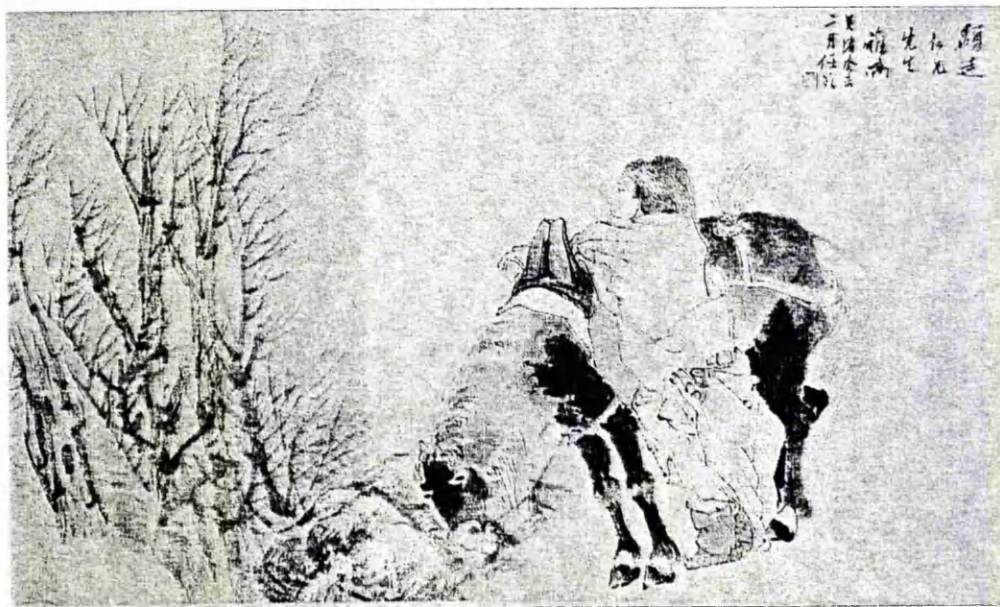
Fig. 126 Ren Bonian, Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly, 1885, album of ten leaves, ink and colour on paper, Beijing Palace Museum. Source: Wang Jingxian ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, vol. 1, p. 219



Fig. 127 Ren Bonian, Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly, 1885, collection unknown. Source: Wang Jingxian ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, volume 2, p. 227



Fig. 128 Ren Bonian, Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly, 1882, Album Leaf, 31.5 x 36cm, ink and colour on paper, Beijing Palace Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1998, vol. 1, p. 139



▲ Fig. 129 Ren Bonian, Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly, 1883, 38 x 63 cm, ink and colour on paper, Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art. Source: Mu Meihua ed., *Ren Bonian*, Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1996, p. 73.



Fig. 130 Ren Bonian, Looking at the Deserted Country Solemnly, 1888, Album of twelve leaves, 24 x 38.2 cm, ink and colour on paper, Beijing Palace Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*, 1998, vol. 1, p. 133.

Fig. 131 Anonymous, Portrait of Ten Beauties, Detail, Courtesan (on the right) dressed in male costume. Photograph, early 20th Century, Shanghai.

Source: *Shanghai bainian lueying* 上海百年略影 (Survey of Shanghai 1840~1940s), Shanghai History Museum ed., Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998, p. 205.



▼Fig. 132 Anonymous, Huile li 會樂里, the assembly place of brothels, back lane of Sima Road, Shanghai. Photograph, early 20th century.

Source: *Shanghai bainian lueying* 上海百年略影 (Survey of Shanghai 1840~1940s), Shanghai History Museum ed., Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1998, p. 204.

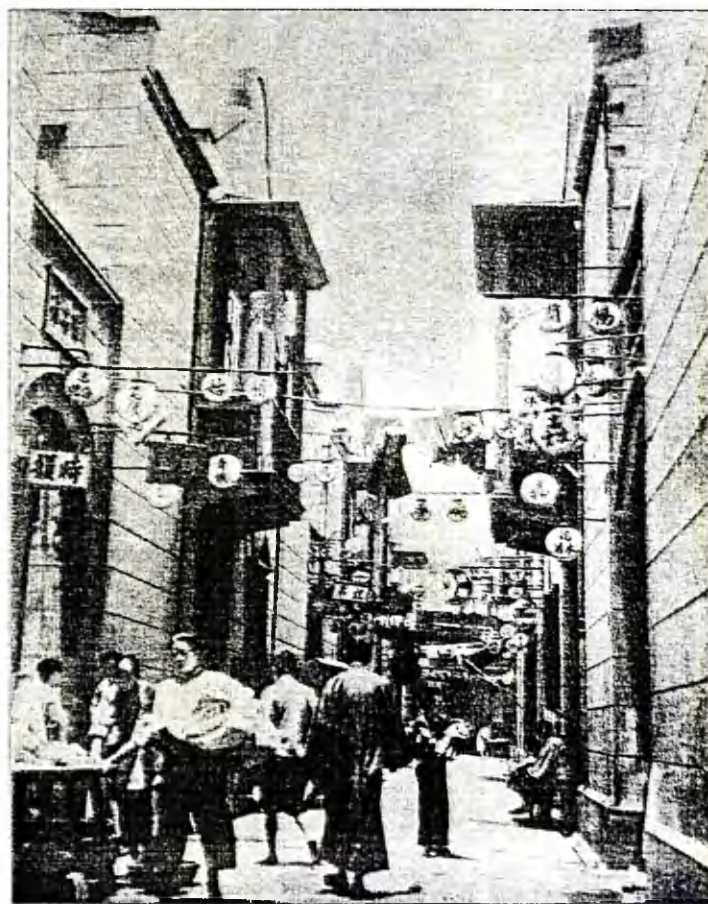


Fig. 133 Detail of Fig. 132, Hua Mulan 花木蘭 was used as flower-name by Shanghai courtesans.

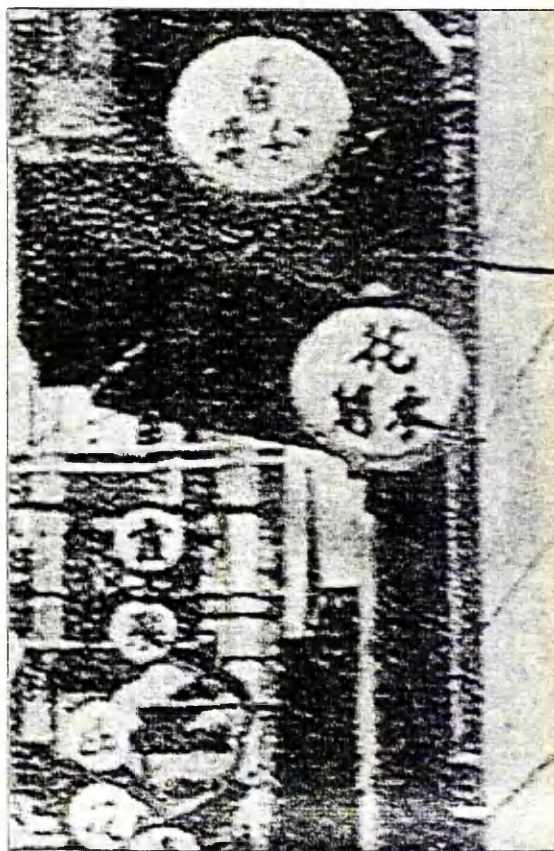


Fig. 134 Ren Bonian, An Outing, 1885, Sketch, China Art Gallery. Source: *Ren Bonian huaji*, Wang Jingxian ed., Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, p. 463.



Fig. 136 Ren Bonian, Boys Playing with Crickets 1887, no size given, ink and light colour on paper China Art Gallery, Beijing. Source: China Art Gallery ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, plate 12.



▼Fig. 135 Ren Bonian, Weaver, 1888, Woodblock print. *Jieziyuan huazhuan*, vol. 4 (Figure painting), Chao Xun ed.; reprinted Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1995, p. 310.



Fig. 137 Ren Bonian, *Selling Meat*, 1881, 33 x 135 cm, ink and colour on paper, Affiliate School of Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing. Source: *New Interpretation of Ming and Qing Painters* 意趣與機杼, Shanghai, 1994, plate 72.



Fig. 138 Ren Bonian, *Man on a Bridge*, 1889, 93.7 x 61.6 cm, ink and colour on paper, Gift of Robert Hatfield Ellsworth, the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Source: Wen C. Fong, *Between Two Cultures*, New York: the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001, plate 10





Fig. 139 Ren Bonian, Street Acrobat and Monkey, 1888, 93 x 52 cm, ink and light colour on paper, Fan Jia 范甲, Hong Kong. Source: *Mingjia hanmo*, no. 28, May 1992, p.31



Fig. 140 Anonymous, Street Acrobats. Photograph. Early 20th century, Shanghai History Museum.



◀ Fig. 141 Yan Yuan, Zhong Kui After a Painting by Ren Bonian (1878), Sketch, Collection unknown. Source: Wang Jingxian ed., *Ren Bonian huaji*, Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, p. 495

▼ Fig. 142 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui Killing a Fox, 1878. Hanging scroll, 133.8 x 65.2 cm, ink and colour on paper, Tianjin Art Gallery. Source: Mu Meihua ed., *Ren Bonian*, Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1996, p. 33

▼ Fig. 143 Wu Youru, *Youji xiefen* 誘妓洩憤 (Releasing anger on a courtesan), detail. Lithograph, late 19th century. Source: *Wu Youru huabao*, Shanghai: Gujishudian, 1983, vol. 3, "Gujin tancong tu" part 2, p. 10.



Fig. 144 and 145.
Details of Fig. 142



Fig. 146 a-c Chen Yunsheng 陳允升, *Renzhai huasheng* 紉齋畫牋, Shanghai, 1923. Ren Bonian did a plain-drawing portrait of Chen Yunsheng at the age of fifty eight, and later Chen reproduced it into a print appended in his book.



Fig. 147 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Liusheng 榴生小像
1868, 128.2 x 47.8 cm, ink and colour on paper,
Nanjing Museum. Source: *Haishang si Ren jingpin*,
part II, Hebei: Meishu chubanshe, 1995, p. 143



Fig. 148 Ren Bonian, Unidentified Portrait 佚名肖像, 1880, 120 x 53 cm, Private Collection
Source: *Ren Bonian*, Tianjin: Renmin meishu
chubanshe, 1996, plate 41



Fig. 149 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Lu Shucheng 陸書成像, 1884, detail of the face, 120.3 x 50.6 cm, Zhejiang Provincial Museum, *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 18, p. 45



Fig. 150 Anonymous, Qing dynasty (1644–1912), Diagrammatic Illustration of Portrait Head Features. Woodblock illustration. Source: *Jieziyuan huazhuan*, 1818 ed., ser. 4, chapter 1, p. 3b

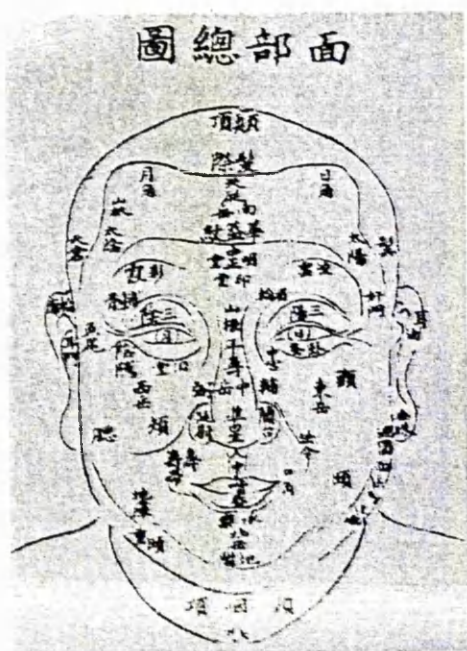


Fig. 151 Anonymous, Qing dynasty, Diagrammatic Illustration of Portrait Head Features. Woodblock illustration. Source: *Jieziyuan huazhuan*, 1818 ed., ser. 4, chapter 1, 3a



Fig. 152 (also see Fig. 11) Ren Bonian, Portrait of Retired Scholar of Fan Lake at the age of 42 范湖居士四十二歲小像 (portrait of Zhou Xian 周閑, 1820–1879), 1867. 129 x 49.5 cm, ink and colour on paper, Zhejiang Provincial Museum



Fig. 153 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Sha Fu at the age of Thirty-nine 沙馥三十九歲小像, 1868. Hanging scroll, 128.6 x 32.3 cm, ink and colour on paper, Nanjing Museum



Fig. 154 Ren Bonian, Mi Fu Paying Homage to a Stone 米芾拜石, undated. Fan, 28 x 27.6 cm, ink and colour on paper, Nanjing Museum. Source: Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., *Ren Bonian*, Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, plate 198



Fig. 155 Ren Bonian, Mi Fu Paying Homage to a Stone 米芾拜石, 1893. Fan, 21 x 21 cm, ink and colour on silk, Affiliated Middle School of the Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing



Fig. 156 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Zhang Zixiang At the Age of Seventy 張子祥七十歲小像, 1872. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, Private collection. Source: Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, Fig. 67



Fig. 157 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Wu Changshuo Enjoying the Shade Beneath Coir Palms 吳昌碩棕蔭納涼, 1887. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, Private collection. Source: Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, Fig. 71; *Zhongguo meishu*, 1980, no. 1:35.



Fig. 158 Luo Pin 羅聘 (1733~99), Portrait of Jin Nong in His Noon Nap 金冬心午睡圖, 1760. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, Shanghai Museum



Fig. 159 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Anonymous 佚名肖像, Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery. Source: *Yiyuan duoyin*, no. 10, p.33



Fig. 160 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Wu Changshu Enjoying the Cool Shade of Banana Palms 蕉陰納涼, undated. Hanging scroll, 129.5 x 58.9 cm ink and colour on paper, Zhejiang Provincial Museum



Fig. 161 Anonymous, Photograph of Wu Changshuo
Undated. Source: Lu Fusheng ed., *Haishang huihua
chuanji*, Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 2001, Vol. 5,
pp. 1004



Detail of Fig. 160.



Fig. 162 Ren Bonian & Yin Yuan
Wu Changshuo Returning Home 吳昌碩歸田圖,
1893. Detail of the figure. Hanging scroll, 115.5 x
53.3 cm, ink and colour on paper, Zhejiang
Provincial Museum

Fig. 163 Ren Bonian

Portrait of Feng Gengsan Reading Poetry
馮耕三讀古詩小象 (Draft), 1877. Hanging scroll,
127.4 x 55.2 cm, ink and colour on paper,
Shanghai Museum



Fig. 164 Ren Bonian

Portrait of Feng Gengsan Reading Poetry
馮耕三讀古詩小象, 1877. Hanging scroll,
127.4 x 55.2 cm, ink and colour on paper,
Shanghai Museum



Fig. 165

Detail of Fig. 163



Fig. 166

Detail of Fig 164



Fig. 168 Ren Bonian, Hu Yuan, Yang Borun and Chen Yunsheng, Gathering at Tingyulou 聽雨樓圖, 1871
Handscroll, 48 x 180 cm, ink and colour on paper, Changzhou City Wenwu Shop 常州市文物商店. Source:
Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu 中國古代書畫圖目, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988, vol. 6, Su 16-35

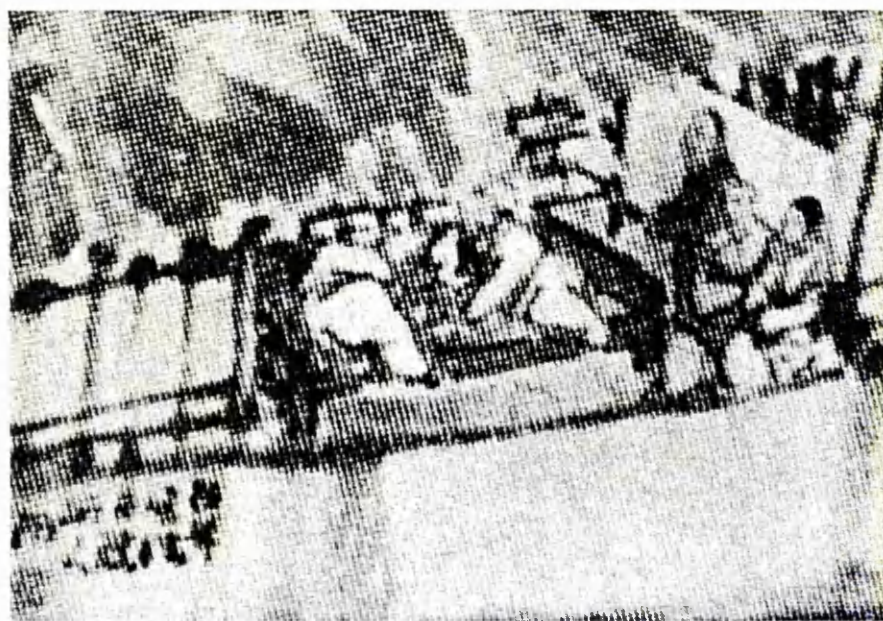


Fig. 169 Detail of Fig. 168
Two figures lying on a smoking bed and others sitting on chairs are portrayed enjoying the relaxing time and friendship in the residence of Wu Wenxun 吳文詢, the owner of a fanshop. The close interaction between the art dealer and artist is summarised here.

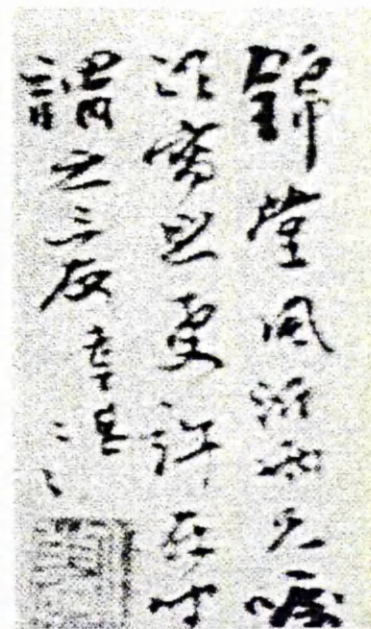


Fig. 167 Ren Bonian, Three Friends, 1883. The Palace Museum, Beijing.
Detail of the painter's inscription

Fig. 170 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Hengyun Mountain Man
As a Beggar 橫雲山民行乞圖, 1868. 147 x 42 cm, ink
and colour on paper, Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing



Fig. 171 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Gao Yongzhi As
a Calligrapher-Beggar 高邕之書丐圖, 1887, 130.7 x 65.3 cm
ink and light colour on paper, Beijing Palace Museum



Fig. 172 *Chengshi moyuan* 程氏墨苑 (Mr. Cheng's Ink Remains), Cheng Junfang ed., 1606.
Source: *Zhongguo gudai banhua congan*, vol. 6, part II, Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1994,
p. 1~16

“Madonna and Child”



“Jesus Walks on Water 信而步海,疑而即沉”
(New Testament, Matthew 14:22)



“On the Road to Emmaus 二徒聞實,即捨空虛”
(New Testament, Luke 24:13)



“Sodom and Gomorrah Destroyed 娼色晦氣,
自速天火” (Old Testament, Genesis 19)



Fig. 173 P. Geronimo Nadal, *Illustrations pour l'Évangile*, 1592, Antwerp, plate 5, 8, 9
Source: "Chūgoku no yōfuga" ten, Kōno Hinou ed., Tokyo: Shimbun, 1995, p. 476

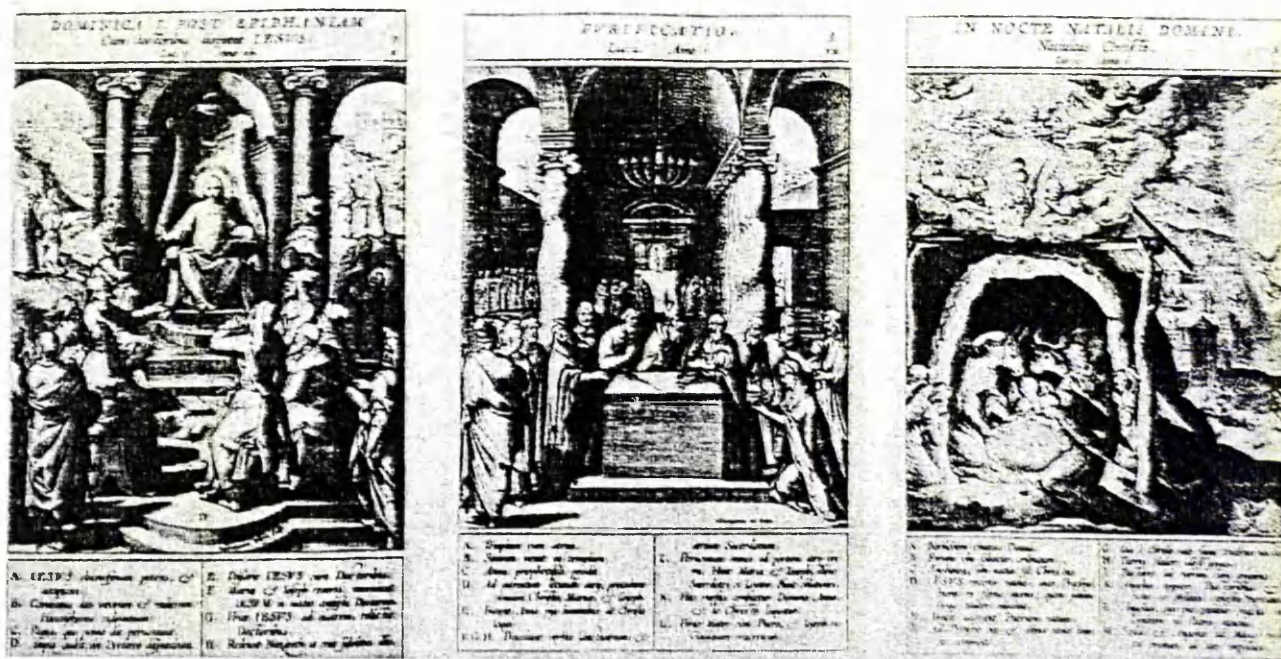


Fig.174 Gaspar Ferreura, S. J. ed., *Song nianzhu guicheng* 誦念珠規程 (Méthode pour la récitation du Rosaire), 1624, Nanjing. Source: "Chūgoku no yōfuga" ten, Kōno Hinou ed., Tokyo: Shimbun, 1995, p. 476

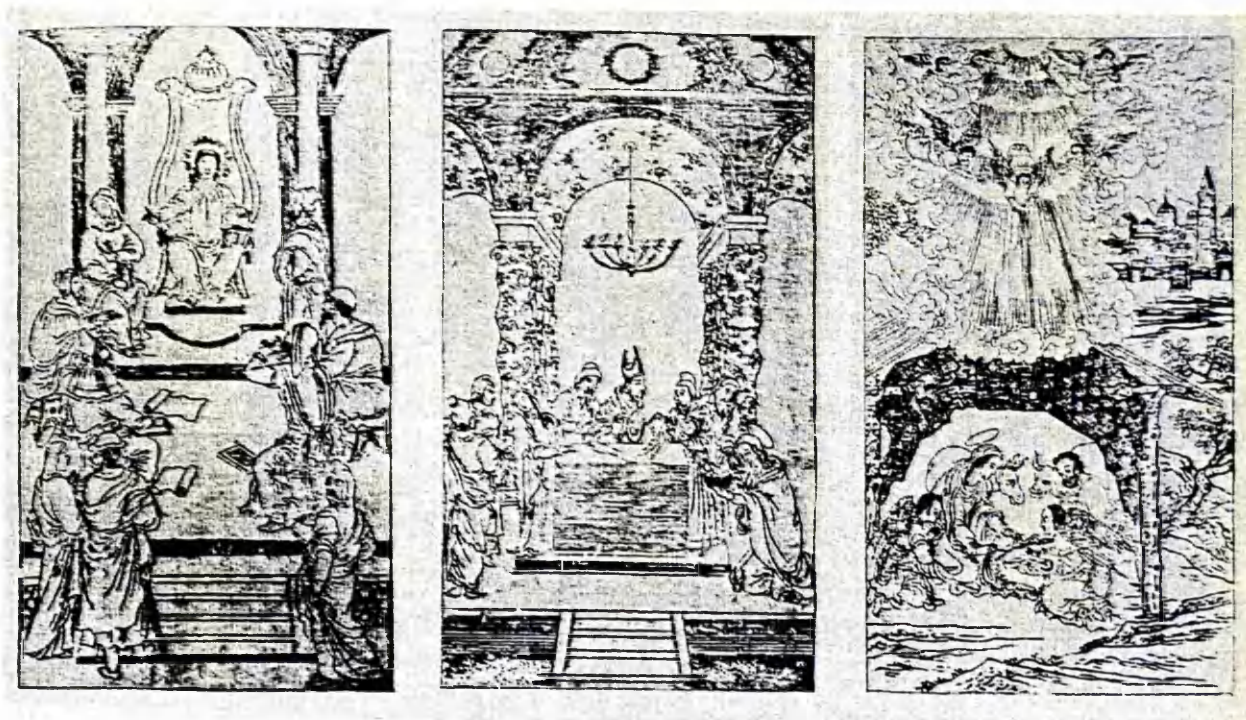




Fig.176 *Tianzhu jiangsheng zhuxiang jingjie* 天主降生主像經解, Giulio Aleni, S. J. ed., Jingjiaotang 景教堂, Jinjiang 晉江, 1637



Fig. 177 *Daoyuan jingcui* 道原精萃, Valentinus Garnier 倪懷綸 ed., Shanghai: Tushanwan, 1888; Beijing University Library



Fig. 178 Anonymous, Photograph of Liu Bizhen and His Students on Liu's Seventieth Birthday, the Craft and Art School of Tushanwan Orphanage, Shanghai, 1912. Source: Chen Yaowang, *Nisu zhi shenshou ye – Zhang Chongren de yishu rensheng* 泥塑之神手也—張充仁的藝術人生 (Master of sculpture – The artistic life of Zhang Chungren), Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 2003, p. 9.

The elder in the middle is Liu Bizhen.



Fig. 179 Xujiahui, Shanghai, late Qing dynasty, Photograph, Shanghai History Museum.

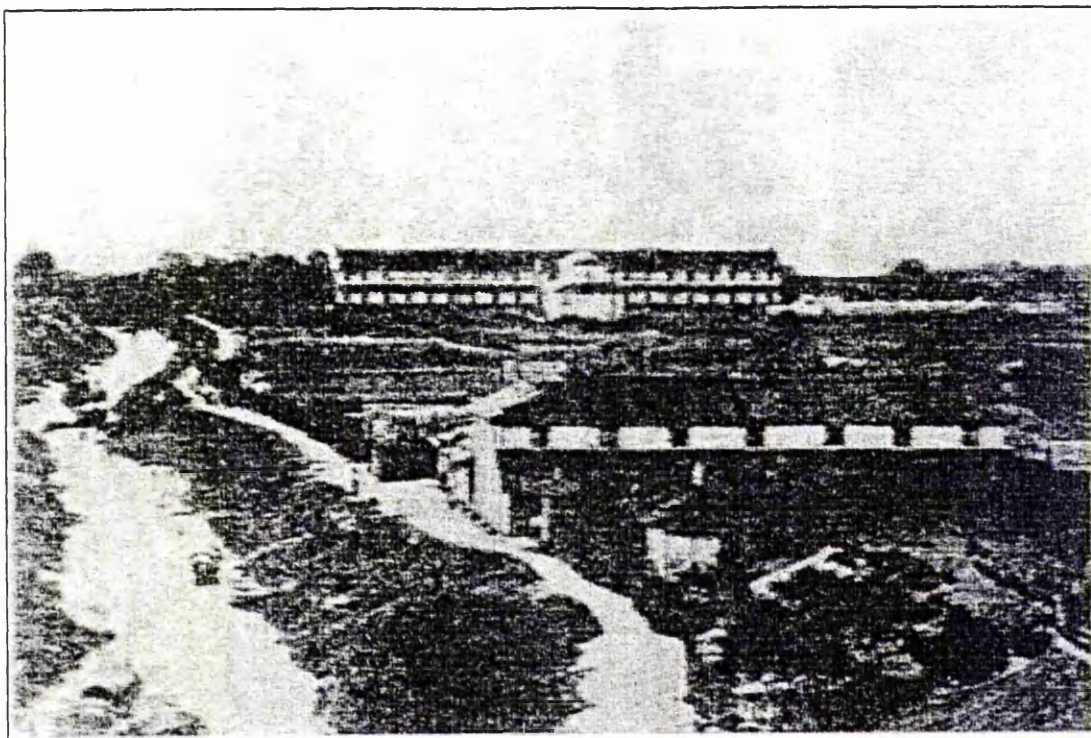


Fig. 180 Building and Environment of the Craft Factory of Tushanwan, Shanghai, late Qing dynasty, Photograph, Shanghai History Museum.

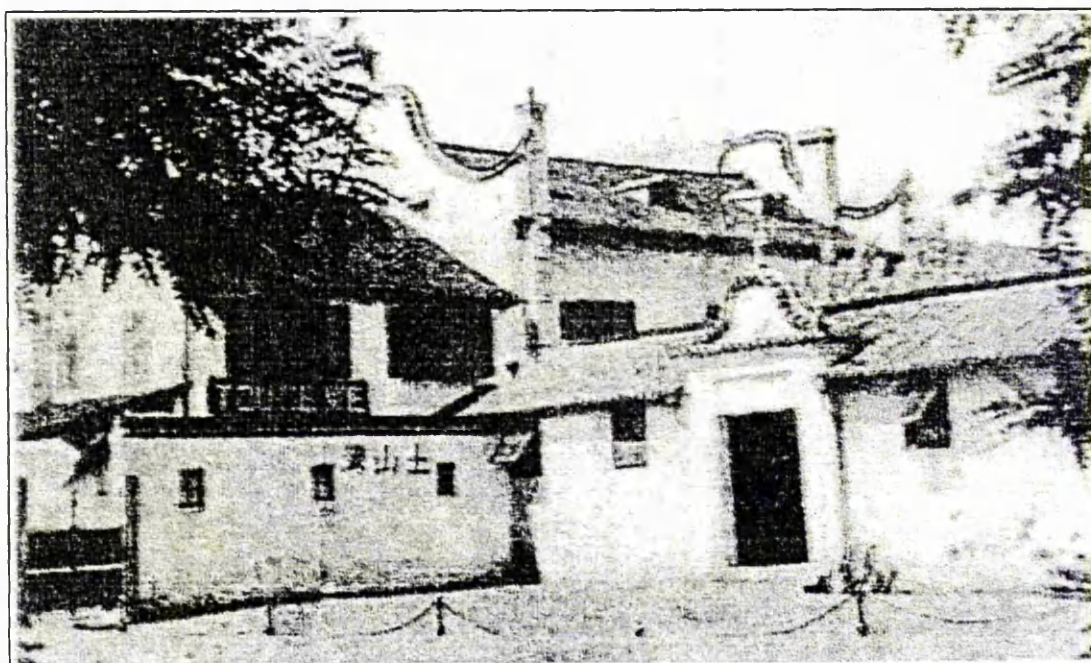
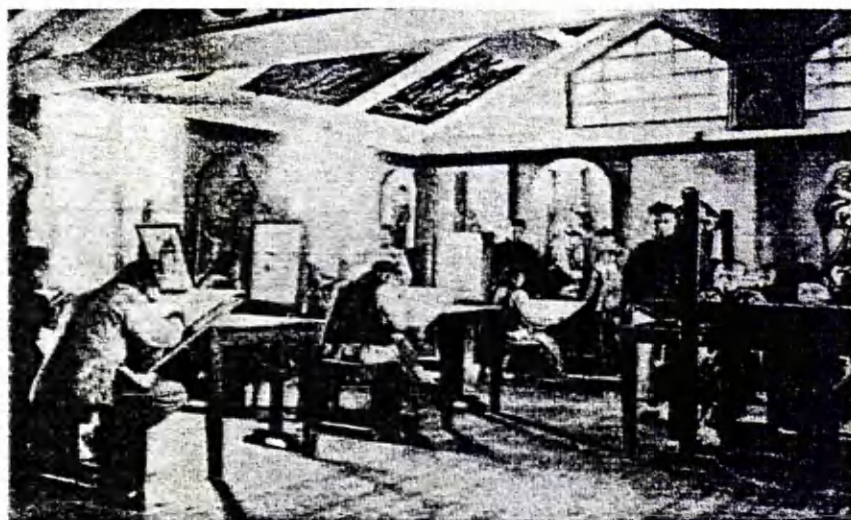


Fig. 181a-c Painting Studio in Tushanwan, Shanghai, late Qing dynasty, three photographs, Shanghai History Museum.

a



b



c

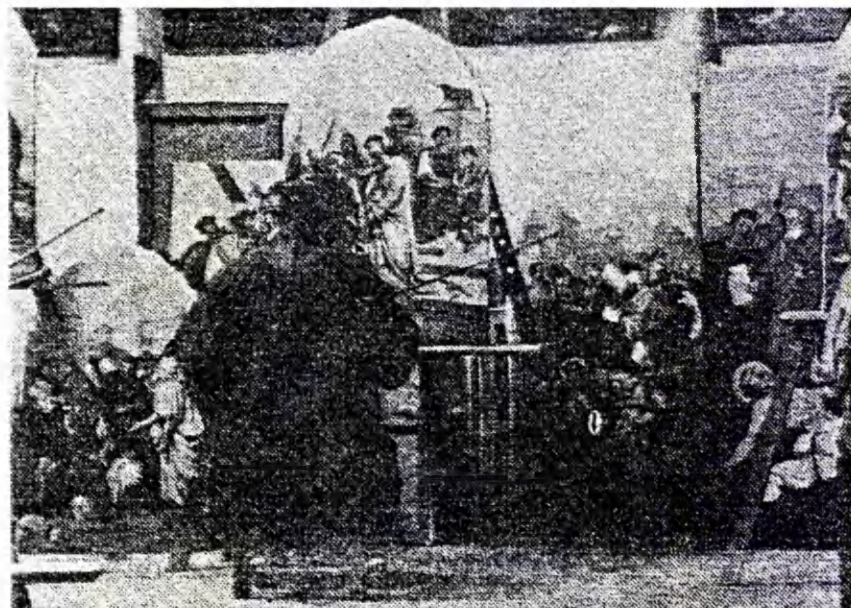




Fig. 182 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Ren Xun 任薰像, 1868.
Hanging scroll, 116.5 x 31 cm, ink and colour on paper, China
Art Gallery, Beijing. Source: *Ren Bonian jingpin ji*, Beijing:
Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, plate 5

Fig. 183 Detail of Fig. 182

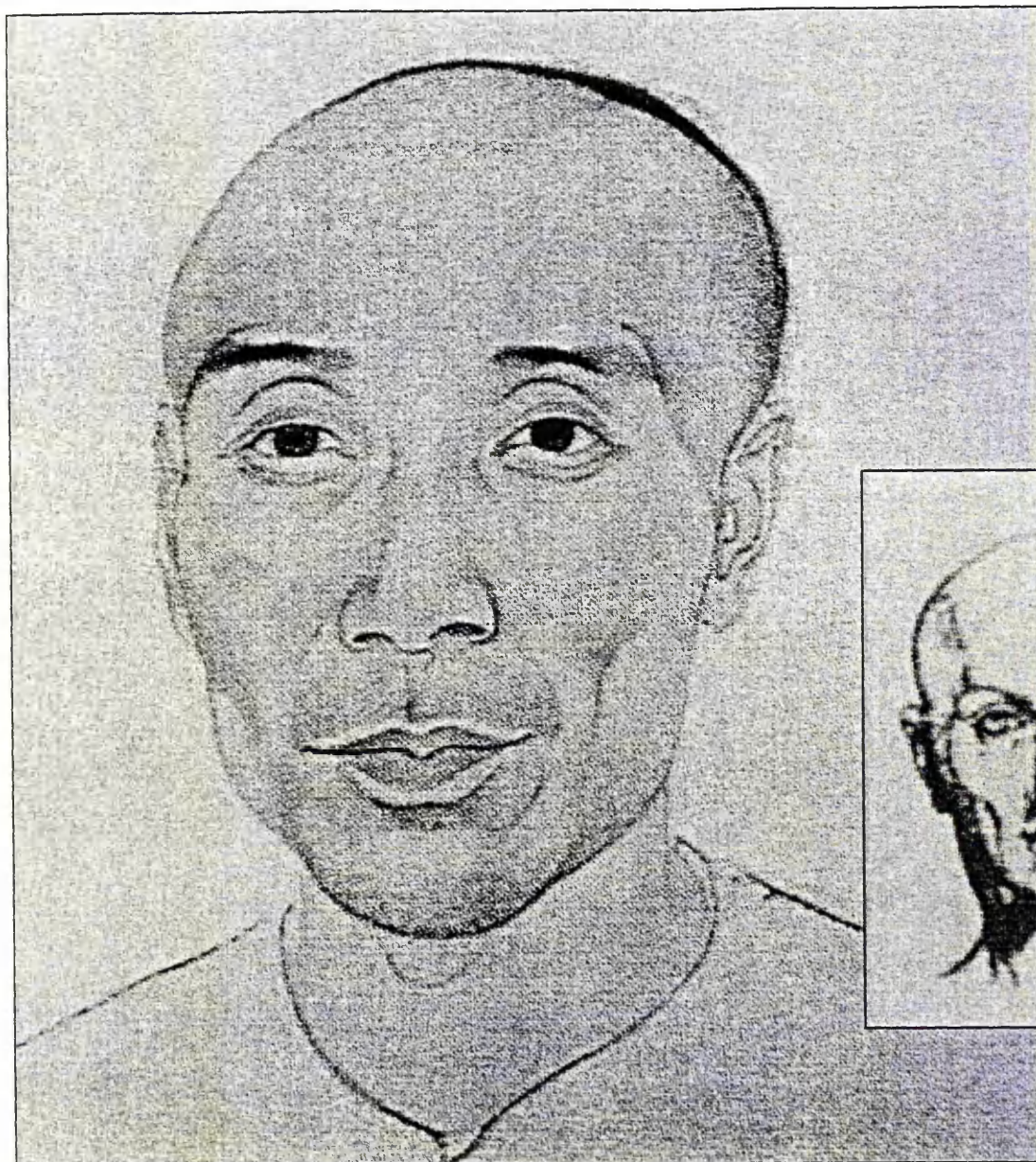


Fig. 184 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Wu Gan 吳淦像
1878. Hanging scroll, 130 x 56.6 cm, ink and colour
on paper, Beijing Palace Museum



Fig. 185 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Ge Zhonghua 葛仲華像, 1873. Hanging scroll, 118.6 x 60.3
cm, ink and colour on paper, Beijing Palace
Museum





◀ Detail of
Fig. 184

▼ Detail of
Fig. 186



Fig. 186 Sketch Manual
Tushanwan, Shanghai
Late nineteenth century.
Source: *Zhongguo xihua
wushi nian*, Beijing: Renmin
meishu chubanshe, 1989, plate 1

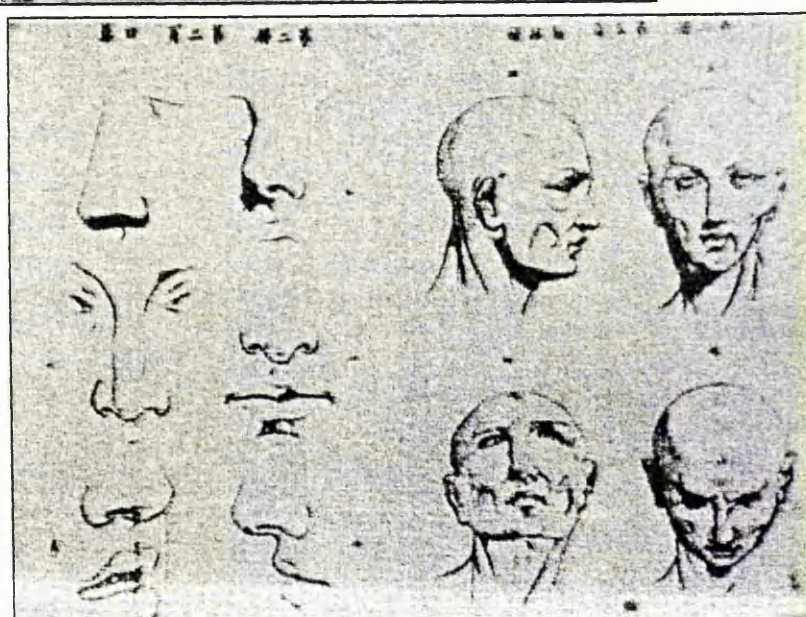


Fig. 187 Zhang Ziciang, "Zhuose yaozhi 著色要旨" (Master Zhang Zixiang's method of application of colour), *Zhang Zixiang ketu huagao* 張子祥課徒畫稿, Shanghai, 1882; reprinted Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984, p. 1

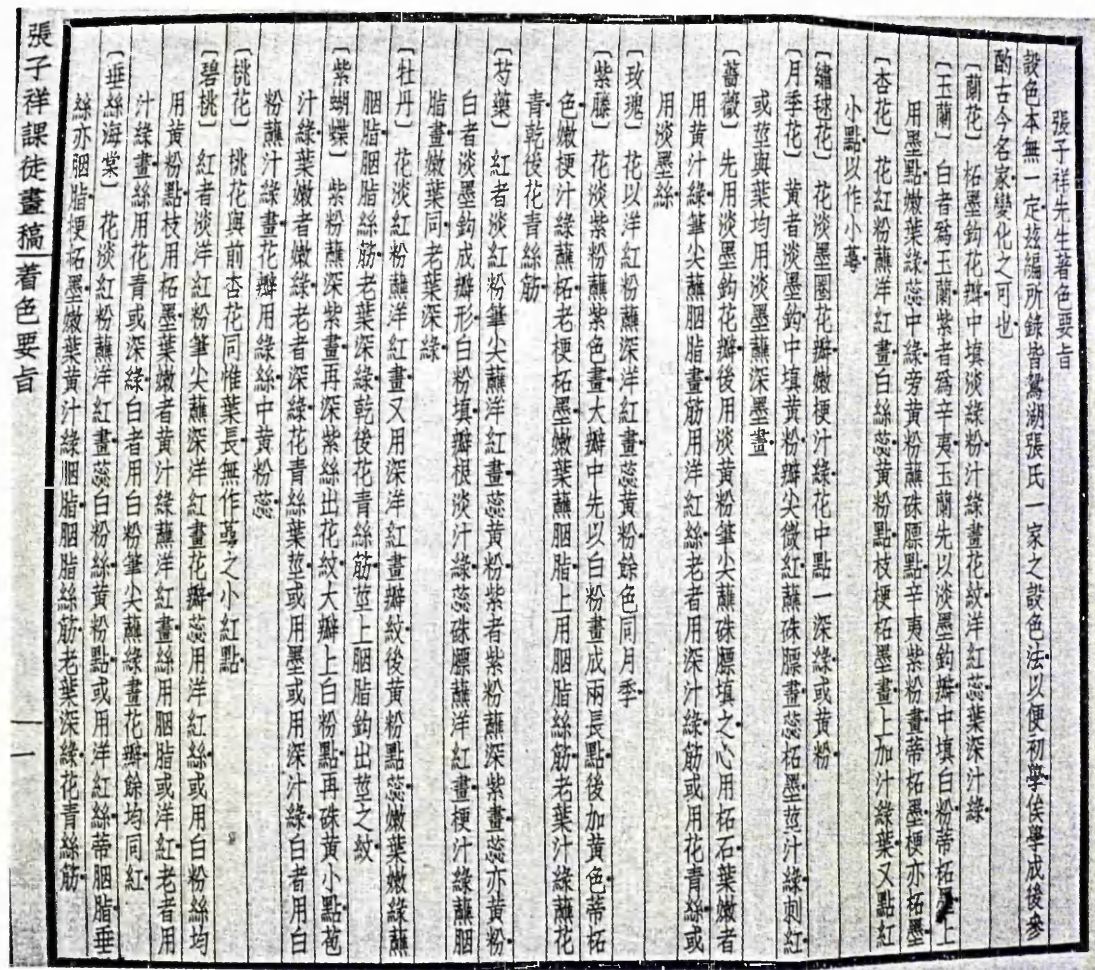


Fig. 188 "Auction on Monday 禮拜一拍賣", *Shen Bao*, 1878.10.20

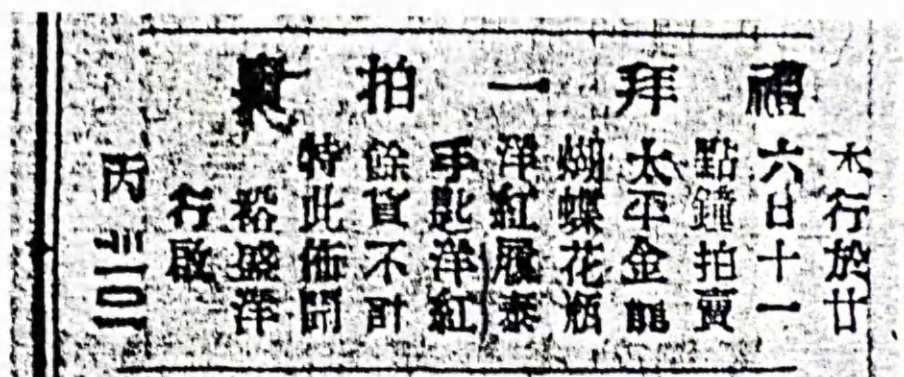


Fig. 189 Ren Bonian, Portrait of the Poverty-Stricken Military Official 酸寒尉像 (Portrait of Wu Changshuo), 1888. Hanging scroll, 164.2 x 77.6 cm, ink and colour on paper, Zhejiang Provincial Museum





▲ Fig. 190 Ren Bonian, Portrait of an Anonymous Figure, not dated, Private collection. Source: Tang Hui ed., *Rongbaozhai huapu — Qing Ren Yi hui renwu (1)* 榮寶齋畫譜—清任頤繪人物(一), Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1996, p. 25

Fig. 192 M. Miller, Cotton Broker, Canton, 1861~4. Photograph. Source: *Imperial China — Photographs 1850~1912*, New York, 1978, p. 46.



► Fig. 191 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Zhang Yisan 張益三像, 1880. Handscroll, 39.6 x 82.5 cm, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery.

Fig. 193 Detail of Fig. 190

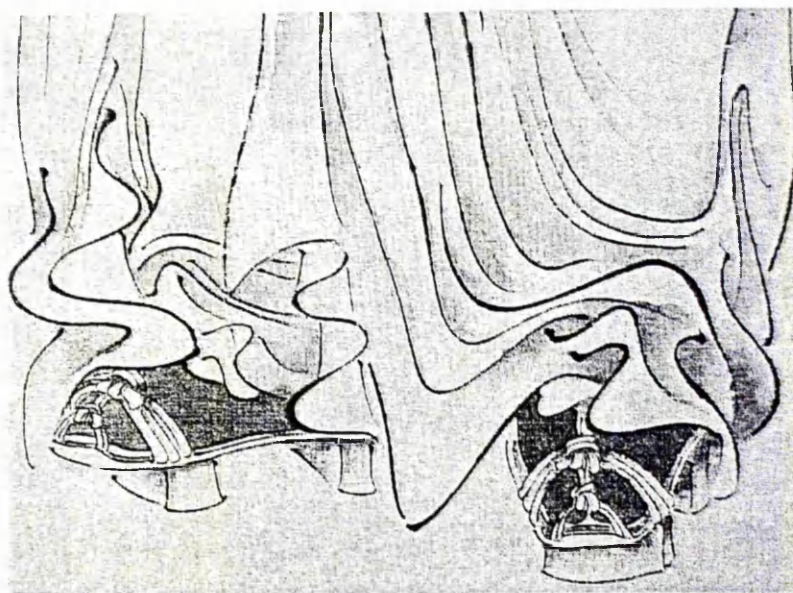


Fig. 194 Wu Youru 吳友如, "Xifa lianyin 西法聯姻", Detail, Lithograph. Source: *Haiguo tushuo* 海國圖說, reprinted in *Haiguo congtao baitu* 海國叢談百圖, Zhuang Ziwan ed., Hunan: Meishu chubanshe, 1998, p.31



Fig.195 Anonymous, Wu Changshuo and a Japanese Friend, Photograph, early 20th century. Source: Lu Fusheng ed., *Haipai huihua chuanji*, Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 2001, vol. 5, pp. 967

Fig. 196 Attributed to Prince De Ling, Empress Dowager Cixi posed in a scene that portrays her as the Guanyin, photograph, 1903. Li Lianying, the notorious chief eunuch, is at the right. Source: *The Face of China. As Seen by Photographers and Travelers, 1860-1912*, New York: Aperture, 1978, p. 54.



Fig. 197 W. Saunders
Wet Weather, Shanghai, 1864-85,
Studio Photograph.
Source: *Imperial China —
Photographs 1850-1912*, New
York, 1978, p. 117.



Fig. 198 M. Miller, Shopkeepers at Canton, 1861-4, Photograph. Source: *Imperial China — Photographs 1850-1912*, New York: Pennwick, 1978, p. 50.



Fig. 199 Liu Zhiping, Li Shutong and Feng Zikai Photograph. Early Twentieth Century (c. 1920)
Source: Lu Fusheng ed., *Haipai huihua chuanji*, Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 2001, vol. 5, pp. 993



Fig. 200 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Three Friends 三友圖 1883, 63.5 x 36.1 cm, ink and colour on paper, Beijing Palace Museum
See also Fig. 116

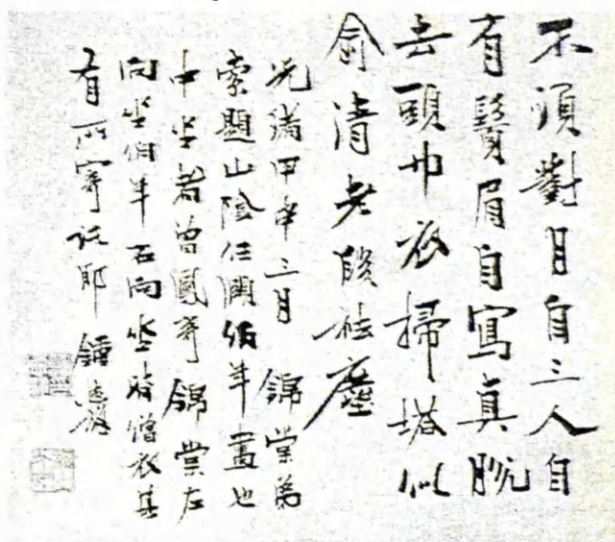


Fig. 201 Anonymous, People Looking at Reproduced Prints. Photograph, late Qing dynasty.
Source: F. Wappenschmidt, *Chinesische Tapeten für Europa*, Berlin, 1989, Tafel 5.



▲ Fig. 202 Anonymous, Portrait of Ten Beauties of Shanghai, Photograph, late Qing dynasty. The sitters were famous courtesans in late nineteenth-century Shanghai.
Source: Sun Yanjing ed., *Wan Qing yiyong*, Shandong: Shandong huabao chubanshe, 2000, Fig. 19

Fig. 203 Anonymous, Chinese Artist Copying a Photograph for the Export Trade, Photograph, Hong Kong, 1860s.
Source: *Imperial China — Photographs 1850–1912*, New York: Pennwick, 1978, p. 77



Fig. 204 Anonymous,
 Photograph of Ren Bonian at the
 Age of 49. Source: *Ren Bonian*,
 Mu Meihua ed., Tianjin: Renmin
 meishu chubanshe, 1996, p. 1



Fig. 205 Xu Beihong,
 Portrait of Ren Bonian [after
 a Photograph], Undated.
 Oil painting on canvas, Xu
 Beihong Memorial Gallery.
 Source: *Ren Bonian huaji*
 任伯年畫集, Chen Zongrui
 ed., Taipei: Dongya yinban youxian
 gongsi, 1953, p. 7



任伯年先生畫像

▼ Fig. 206 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Jiang Shinong
姜石農像 (1827~?), 1877. Handscroll, 49 x 46.4 cm,
ink on paper, Suzhou Museum. Source: *Yiyuan*
duoying, no.10, p. 27

► Fig. 207 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Jiang Shinong
姜石農像, 1877. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 74.9 x
48.4 cm, Suzhou Museum



▼ Fig. 208 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Mr. Fanshi 飯石先生小象 (Jiang Shinong), 1877. Handscroll, 49 x 46.4 cm
ink on paper, Source: *Yiyuan duoying* 藝苑掇英, no. 18, p. 25



Fig. 209 Takahashi Yūichi 高橋由一
Self-Portrait, 1866~7, 47.8 x 38.6 cm,
oil painting on canvas, Takahashi family.
Source: *Takahashi Yūichi gashū* 高橋由一畫集,
Teiichi Hijikata ed., Tokyo: Kotansha, 1972, plate 1



Fig. 211 Kishida Ryūsei 岸田劉生,
Portrait of Kishida Ginkō 岸田吟香, 1925.1.24,
Size and material not given, Private collection.
Source: Stephan Graf von der Schulenburg, *Natur
und Innenwelt*, Heidelberg: Wunderhorn, 2000,
plate 3.



◀ Fig. 210 Anonymous, Portrait of Kawakami Tōgai 川上冬崖
(1827~1881), Photograph, late nineteenth century. Source: *Historical
Document for Meiji Yōga Painting — Memoir* 明治洋畫史料—懷想篇,
Aoki Mo ed., Tokyo: Chūō Kuronsha, 1985, plate 2.

▼ Fig. 212 Kishida Ginkō, Letter to Takahashi Yūichi, 1868.8.18.
Source: *Historical Document for Meiji Yōga Painting — Records* 明治洋
畫史料—紀錄篇, Aoki Mo ed., Tokyo: Chūō Kuronsha, 1985, p. 29,
Letter No. 10

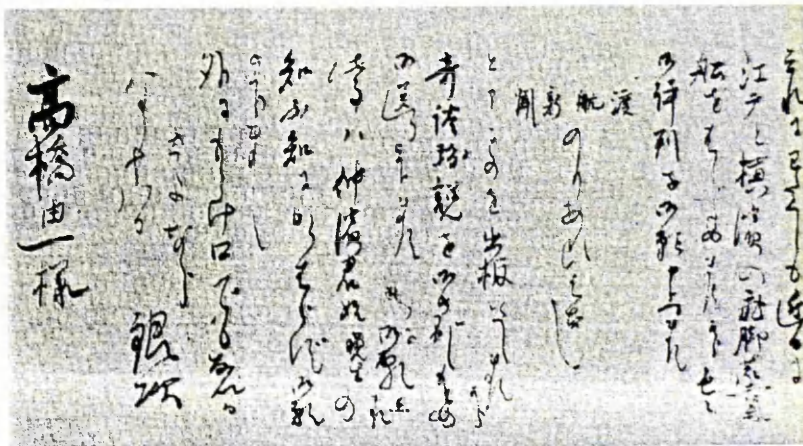


Fig. 213 Takahashi Yūichi, Shanghai Toko Zukan 上海渡航圖卷 (Journey to Shanghai), 1867. Detail of Section 3, Handscroll, 27.5 x 515 cm, ink and light colour on paper, Library of Tokyo Art University. Source: *Takahashi Yūichi ten*, Kanagawa County Gallery of Contemporary Art, 1994, plate. 98-3.

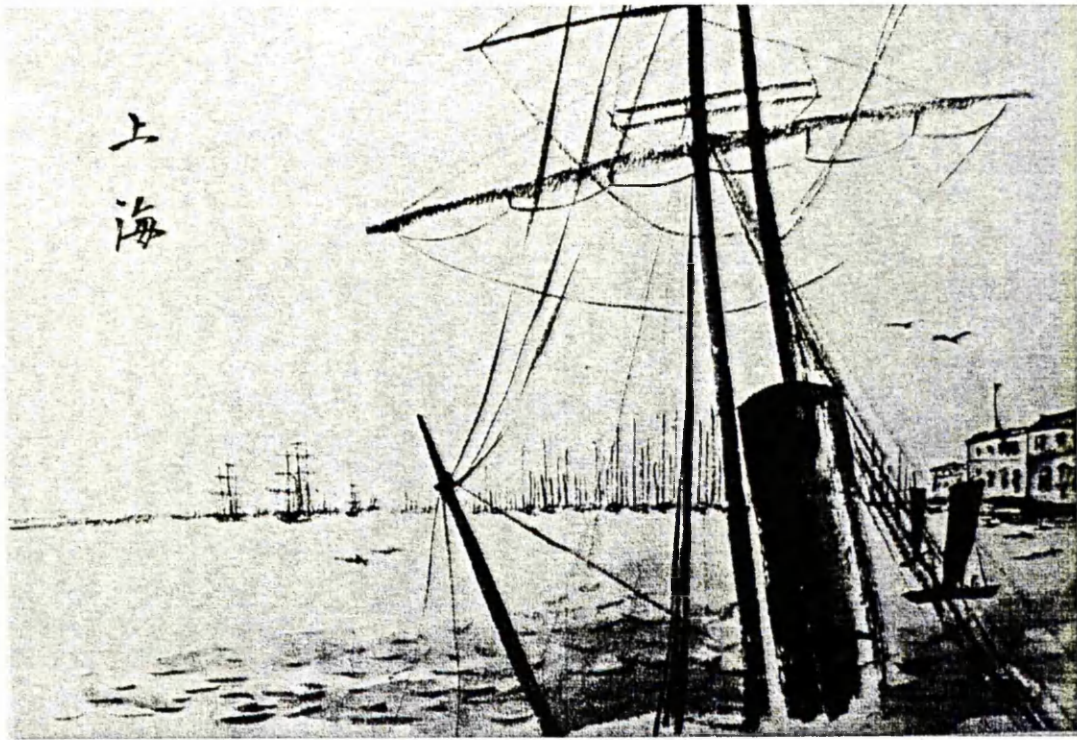


Fig. 214 Takahashi Yūichi, Shanghai Nisshi 上海日誌 (Shanghai Diary), 1867. Album of 12 Folded Leaves, 23 x 18.5 cm, light colour on paper, Library of Tokyo Art University. Source: *The Collected Paintings of Yuichi Takahashi*, Teiichi Hijikata ed., Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1974, p. 139.

Members of this journey to Shanghai included Kushitogo Samon 串戸五左工門, Watanabe Sōhei 渡邊莊平, Takahashi Yūichi 高橋由一, Nagura Anato 名倉予何人, Ōbayashi Toraji 大林虎次, Abe Yasuta 安倍保太, Itō Jinshirō 伊東甚四郎, Yagi Saitsugu 八木財次.

Fig. 215 Scene of Shanghai City



Fig. 216 Huxin Ting (Lakeside Pavilion) in Yu Garden, Shanghai

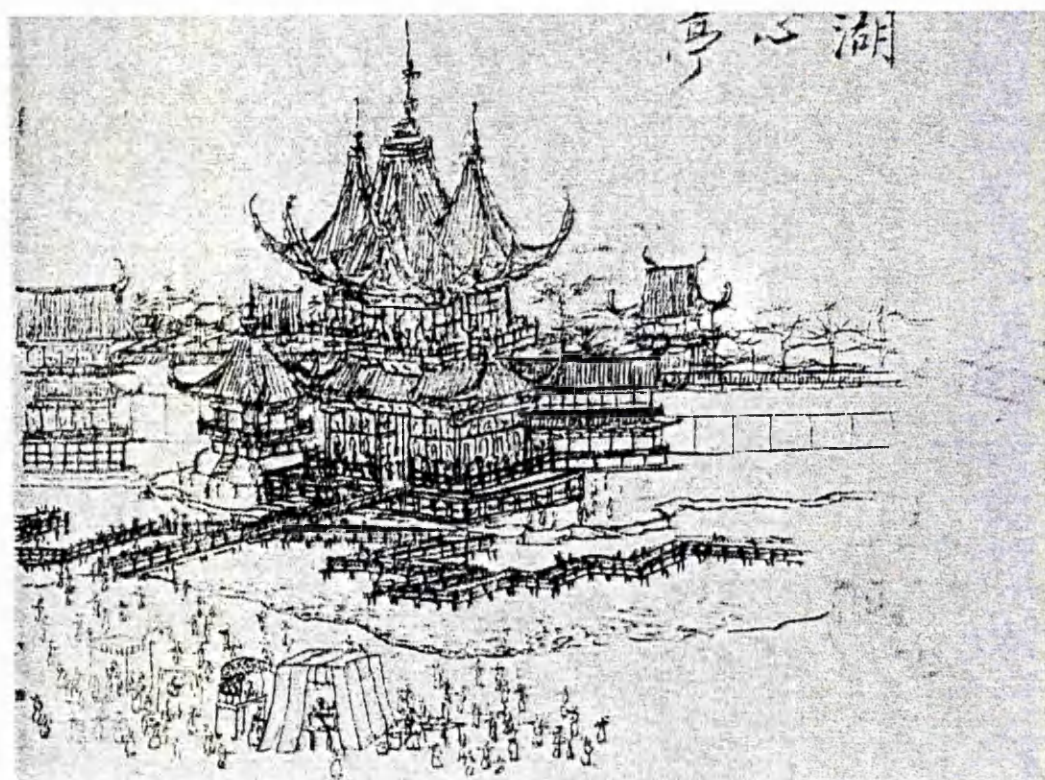


Fig. 217 Takahashi Yūichi, Shanghai Nisshi, Detail. List of Chinese persons introduced to Takahashi Yūichi. he names include that of Ren Bonian's teacher Zhang Zixiang (last column).

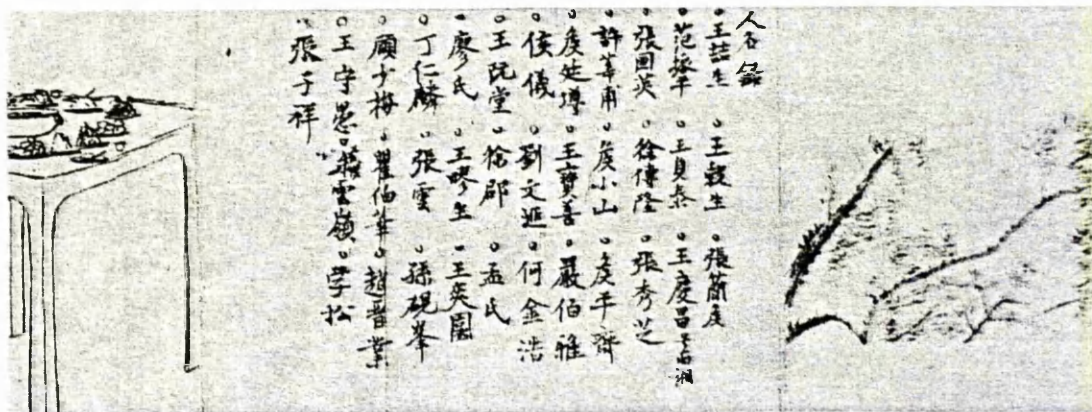


Fig. 218 Takahashi Yūichi, Shanghai Nisshi, Detail. Portrait of Kishida Ginkō, 1867.1.21



Fig. 219 Takahashi Yūichi, Portrait of Madame Inamura, 1884, 41.4 x 31 cm, oil painting on silk, Private collection. Source: *Takahashi Yūichi ten*, Kanagawa County Gallery of Contemporary Art, 1994, plate 68.



Fig. 220 Anonymous, Madame Inamura and Her Daughter. Photograph, undated. Source: *Takahashi Yūichi ten*, Kanagawa County Gallery of Contemporary Art, 1994, plate 68-2.

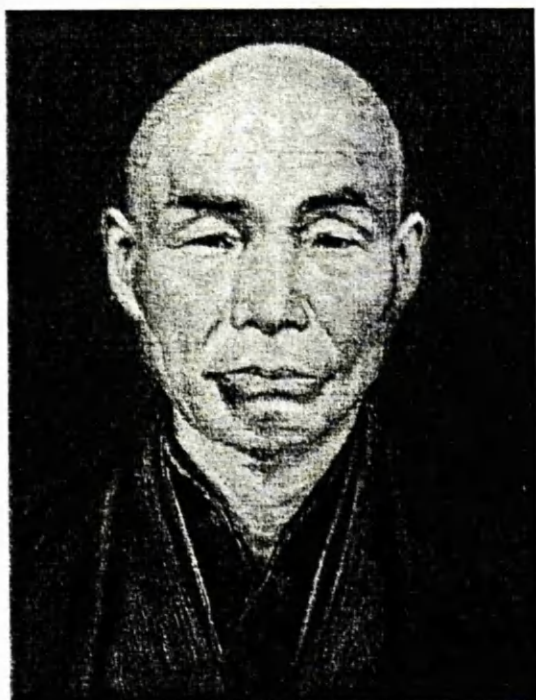


Fig. 221 Takahashi Yūichi, Portrait of Suzuki Seimi, 1881, 45.8 x 38.3 cm, oil painting on canvas, Fukushima County Art Gallery. Source: *Takahashi Yūichi ten*, Kanagawa County Gallery of Contemporary Art, 1994, plate 61.



Fig. 222 Anonymous, Portrait of Suzuki Seimi, Photograph, undated. Source: *Takahashi Yūichi ten*, Kanagawa County Gallery of Contemporary Art, 1994, plate 61-2.

Fig. 223 Nian Xiyao, *Shixue* 視學, 1729

Source: Kōno Hinou ed., "Chūgoku no yōfuga" ten,
Tokyo: Shimbun, 1995, p. 450



Fig. 225 Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum*, published in 1693 and 1700.

Source: Kōno Hinou ed., "Chūgoku no yōfuga" ten,
Tokyo: Shimbun, 1995, p. 450



Fig. 224 Nian Xiyao, *Shixue* 視學, 1729. Source: Kōno Hinou ed.,
"Chūgoku no yōfuga" ten, Tokyo: Shimbun, 1995, p. 450

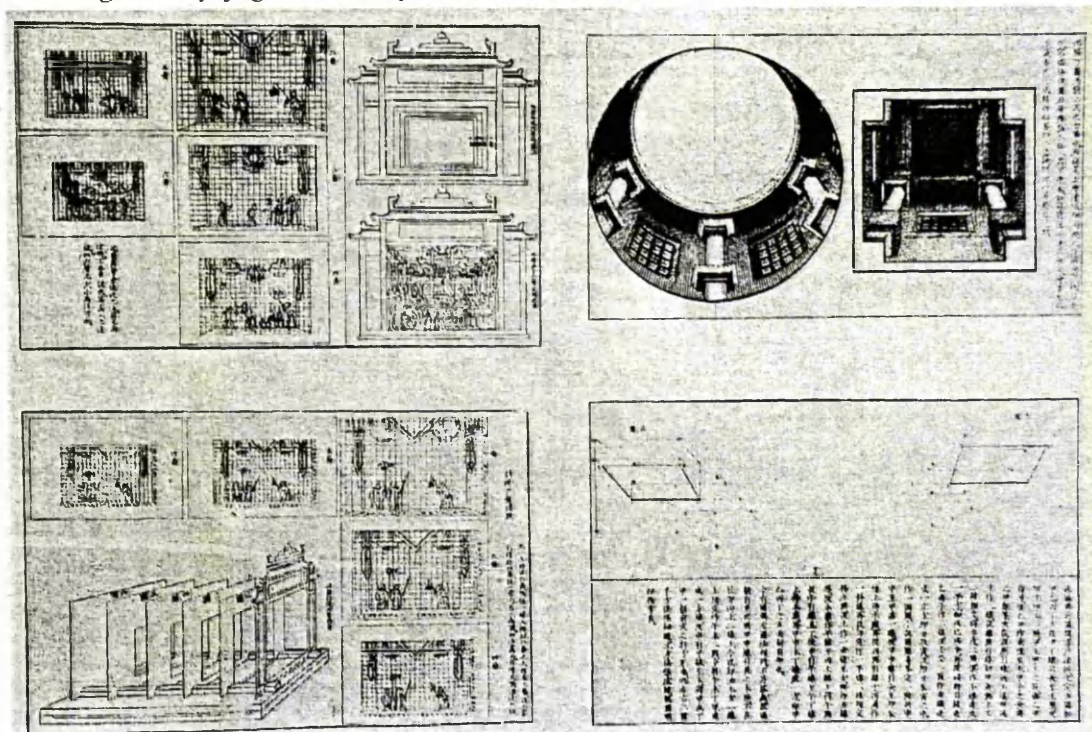


Fig. 226 Wu Youru, Portrait of Zeng Jize 曾紀澤, Lithograph after *London Illustrated News* 插圖倫敦新報. *Dianshizhai huabao*, No. 20, 1884.5.27



▲ Fig. 227 Anonymous, Portrait of Zeng Jize 曾紀澤, Steel engraving, *London Illustrated News* 插圖倫敦新報, 1884.1.5. Source: R. Wagner, "Jinru quanqiu xiangxiang tujing: Shanghai de 'Dianshizhai huabao'", *Zhongguo xueshu*, no. 8, 2001, Fig. 9

Fig. 228 An advertisement of Western paintings for sale, *Shen Bao*, 4th day of the twelfth month, *renshen* 壬申 year (1873.1.2)

大鏡西 畫出售
本店今有新到
大鏡數面西畫
數十幅其價格
外便宜倘欲買
者請至中和洋
行對面便是
十二月
初五日
乾生洋廣
貨流啟

拍賣甲山雲
啟者於初五日
即禮拜五十點
半鐘在隆茂棧
內拍賣把得酒
二十七桶洋畫
各式銀器牆紙
五箱一應雜貨
倘欲買請至
該處面定可也
十二月初四日
代利行啟

Fig. 229 Wu Youru, "Weimiao weiqiao 惟妙惟肖" (True to Life), Lithograph. Source: *Wu Youru huabao* 吳友如畫寶, Shanghai: Guji shudian, 1983, vol. 2-6-1, "Haiguo congtao tu 海國叢談圖", pp. 23



Fig. 230 Wu Youru, Children at Play
嬰戲圖, 1892. Hanging scroll,
120 x 64, ink and colour on paper,
Private collection.



Fig. 231 Wu Guxiang 吳穀祥 (1848~1903), *Sunset at Lake Tai* 具區湧金, 1887, 32.6 x 40.4 cm, ink and colour on paper, National Palace Museum, Taipei. Source: *Spirit Resonance: Chinese and Western Painting Styles in the Late Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2, edited and published by the National Palace Museum, Taipei, 1993, p.107

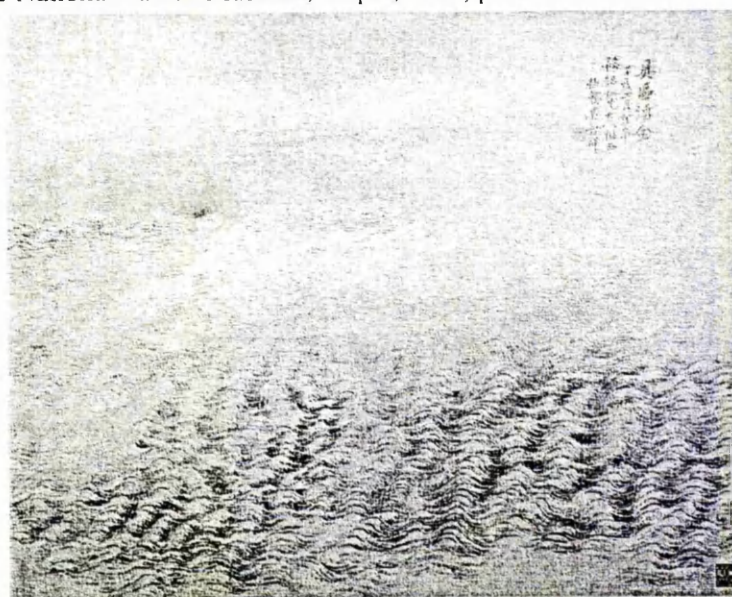


Fig. 232 Qian Huian 錢慧安 (1833~1911), *Guanyin* 觀音, 1908, 142.1 x 25.8 cm, ink and colour on paper, National Palace Museum, Taipei. Source: *Spirit Resonance: Chinese and Western Painting Styles in the Late Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2, edited and published by the National Palace Museum, Taipei, 1993, p.71





◀ Fig. 233 Mr. Shitang Welcoming Customers 詩堂先生迎賓圖, 1870, 127.5 x 54 cm, ink and colour on paper, Guzhou Art Gallery. Source: *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 25, 1985. p. 42

▲ Fig. 234 Detail of Fig. 233

Fig. 235 Ren Bonian, Parting at Dongjin 東津話別, 1868. Handscroll, 34.1 x 135.8 cm, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery, Beijing



Fig. 236 Detail of Fig. 235
Portrait of Ren Bonian, the
second figure from the right

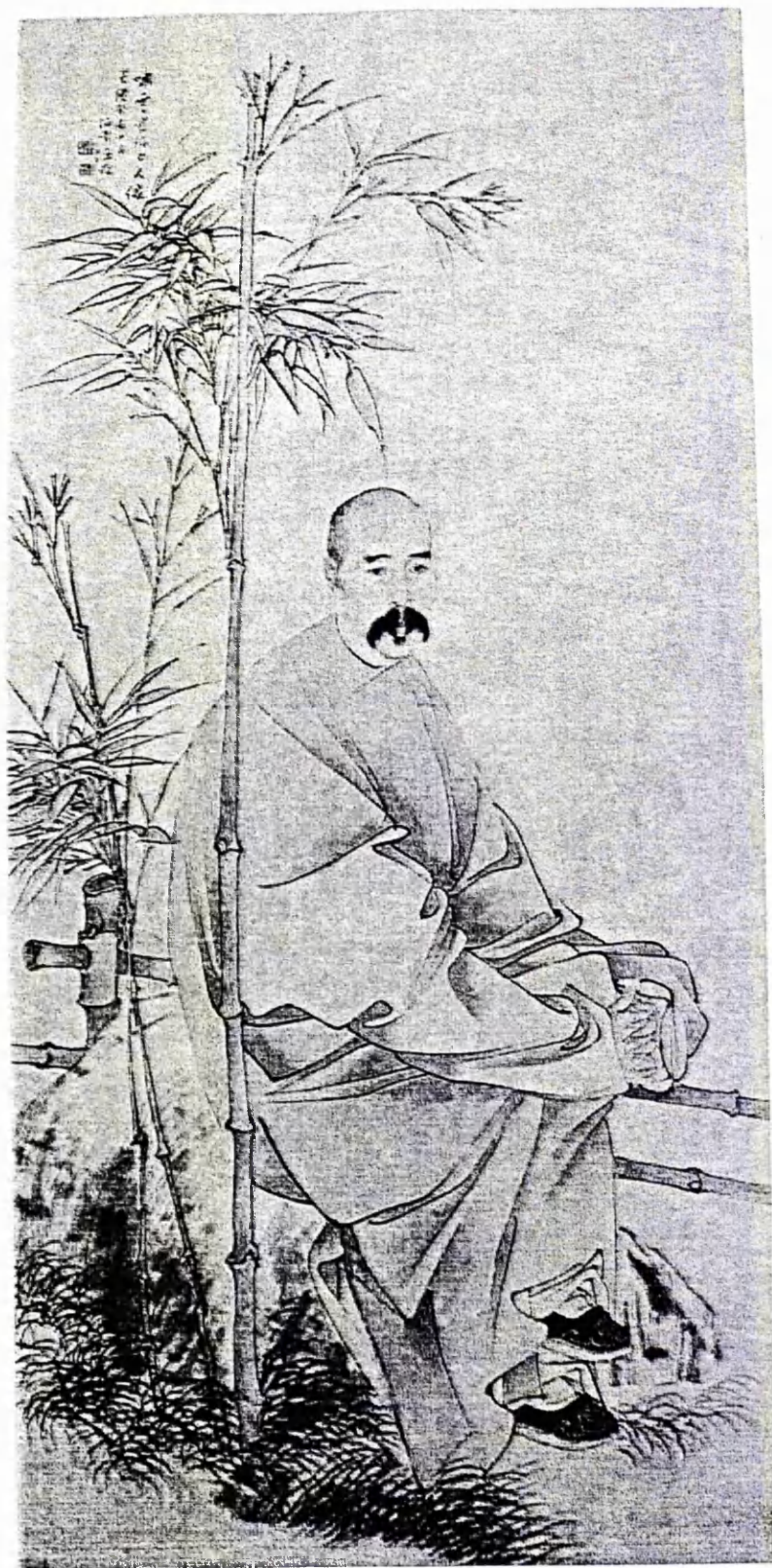
Fig. 237 Attributed to Ren Bonian
Guanyin with Child 送子觀音, 1883
Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 80 x 34 cm,
Tianjin Art Gallery



Fig. 238 Attributed to Ren Bonian
Guanyin with Child 送子觀音, 1883
Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper,
Cheng Shifa collection, Shanghai



Fig. 239 Ren Bonian, Portrait of Zhao Xiaoyun 趙嘯雲像, 1883. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 137 x 64 cm, Zhejiang Provincial Museum



▼ Fig. 240 Detail of Fig. 237, the figure's facial expression.



▼Fig. 242 Detail of Fig. 239, the lively facial expression of Zhao Xiaoyun.



▼Fig. 241 Detail of Fig. 237, the brushwork of the folds is more stiff and unnatural, apparently executed in short strokes interrupted at each angular turn.



▼Fig. 243 Detail of Fig. 239, the folds of Zhao Xiaoyun's garment are portrayed with more cursive and fluent brushlines.



Fig. 244 Ren Bonian, Congratulations on an Official Promotion 加官晉爵, 1883
Detail of the figures. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Zhejiang Provincial Museum

Fig. 245 Two questionable seals of the “Congratulations on an Official Promotion 加官晉爵”: the upper one reads “Yi Yin 頤印” in relief, the lower one reads “Bonian 伯年” in intaglio.



Fig. 246 Attributed to Ren Bonian
Two Seated Elders 二老并坐圖, 1874. Hanging
scroll, ink and colour on paper, 116 x 57.8 cm,
Tianjin People's Fine Art Publisher



Fig. 248 Detail of Fig. 246



Fig. 249 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui
Detail of calligraphy, 1874
Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing



Fig. 247 Ren Bonian, Gods of Literature and the
Martial Arts 文昌關羽像, 1882. Hanging scroll,
ink and colour on paper, 137.5 x 68.5 cm,
Shanghai Museum



Fig. 250 Ren Bonian, Su Wu Herding
Sheep Detail of calligraphy, 1874,
Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing



Fig. 251 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui 鍾馗
1874. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper
Private Collection, former Ye Qianyu 葉淺予
collection, Shanghai



Fig. 252 Attributed to Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui 鍾馗
1883. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper,
171.4 x 93.4 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York



Fig. 253 Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui 鍾馗
Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper
Shanghai Museum



Fig. 254 Attributed to Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui 鍾馗
Undated. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper
Zheng Qiaozhi collection 鄭僑志, Singapore

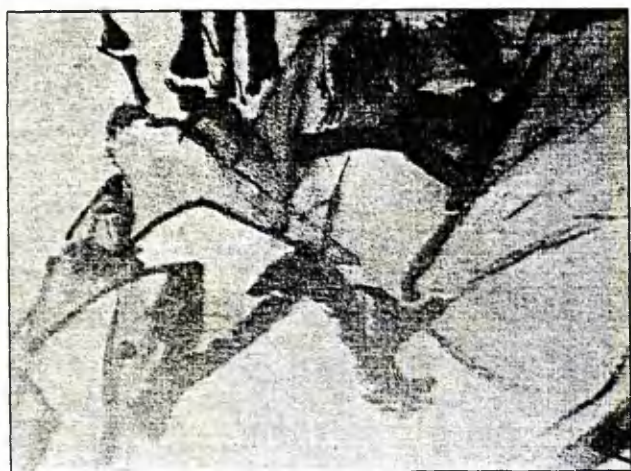


Fig. 255 Detail of Fig. 253



Fig. 256 Detail of Fig. 254

Fig. 257 Ren Bonian Zhong Kui 鍾馗
Detail of the signature, Shanghai Museum
(Fig. 253).



Fig. 258 Attributed to Ren Bonian Zhong Kui 鍾馗
Detail of the signature, Zheng Qiaozhi collection,
Singapore (Fig. 254).



Fig. 259 “Haichang Qian Jingtang yin 海昌錢鏡塘印”
Stamped on Ren Bonian (attr.), Zhong Kui, not dated, Zheng Qiaozhi collection

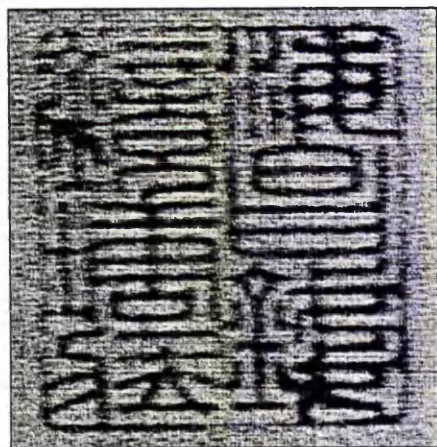


Fig. 260 & 261 Two authentic seals of Qian Jing Tang
“Qian Jingtang jiating Ren Bonian zhenji zhiyin 錢鏡塘鑑定任伯年真蹟之印”



Fig. 262 Ren Bonian

Zhong Kui Carrying a Broken Fan 墨筆破扇鍾馗
1891. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper,
Zhejiang Provincial Museum



Fig. 263 Attributed to Ren Bonian

Zhong Kui Carrying a Broken Fan 墨筆破扇鍾馗
1891. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper
Shanghai Museum



Fig. 264 Attributed to Ren Bonian, Zhong Kui Carrying a Broken Fan 墨筆破扇鍾馗, 1891. Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 110 x 62.2 cm, Private Collection.



Fig. 265 Attributed to Ren Bonian
Listening to the Music under the Pine 松下賞音,
1895. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper
Hanhai Auction House 瀚海'95 春季拍賣會,
Spring 1995, catalogue plate 292



Fig. 266 (see also Fig. 58) Ren Bonian
Xie Dongshan and His Concubines 謝東
山攜妓圖, 1891. Hanging scroll, ink and
colour on paper, 182.2 x 96.4 cm,
China Art Gallery, Beijing



Fig. 267 Ni Tian, Talking about Dao under the Pine 松陰論道, 1907
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on painting, 148.6 x 78.5 cm, Shanghai Museum



Fig.268 Inscription by Ni Tian
Detail of Fig. 267



Fig. 269 Inscription by Ren Bonian
Detail of Fig. 6, 266

Fig. 270 Ni Tian

Tending Buffalo on a Spring Meadow 春風得意圖

1916. 136.8 x 66.5 cm, ink and colour on paper,

Shi Yunwen 石允文, Taipei



Fig. 272 Detail of Fig. 270



Fig. 271 Ren Bonian

Tending Buffalo 牧牛圖, 1888.

133 x 63.2 cm, ink and colour on paper

Palace Museum, Beijing



Fig. 273 Detail of Fig. 271



Fig. 274 Ren Xia An Outing 記遊
Woodcut print, published in Chao Xun's edition of
Jieziyuan huazhuan siji 芥子園畫傳四集,
(Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting),
Shanghai, vol. 5, 1897



Fig. 275 Ren Bonian, Sketch for An Outing 記遊
畫稿 1885, Sketch, ink on paper, China Art
Gallery, Beijing



Fig. 276 Ren Xia

Lady Gongsun's Sword Dance 公孫大娘舞劍圖
Woodcut print, published in Chao Xun's edition of
Jieziyuan huaizhuan siji 芥子園畫傳四集
(Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting),
Shanghai, vol. 5, 1897

Fig. 277 Ren Bonian

Lady Gongsun's Sword Dance 公孫大娘舞劍圖
Sketch, 1885, ink on paper, China Art Gallery

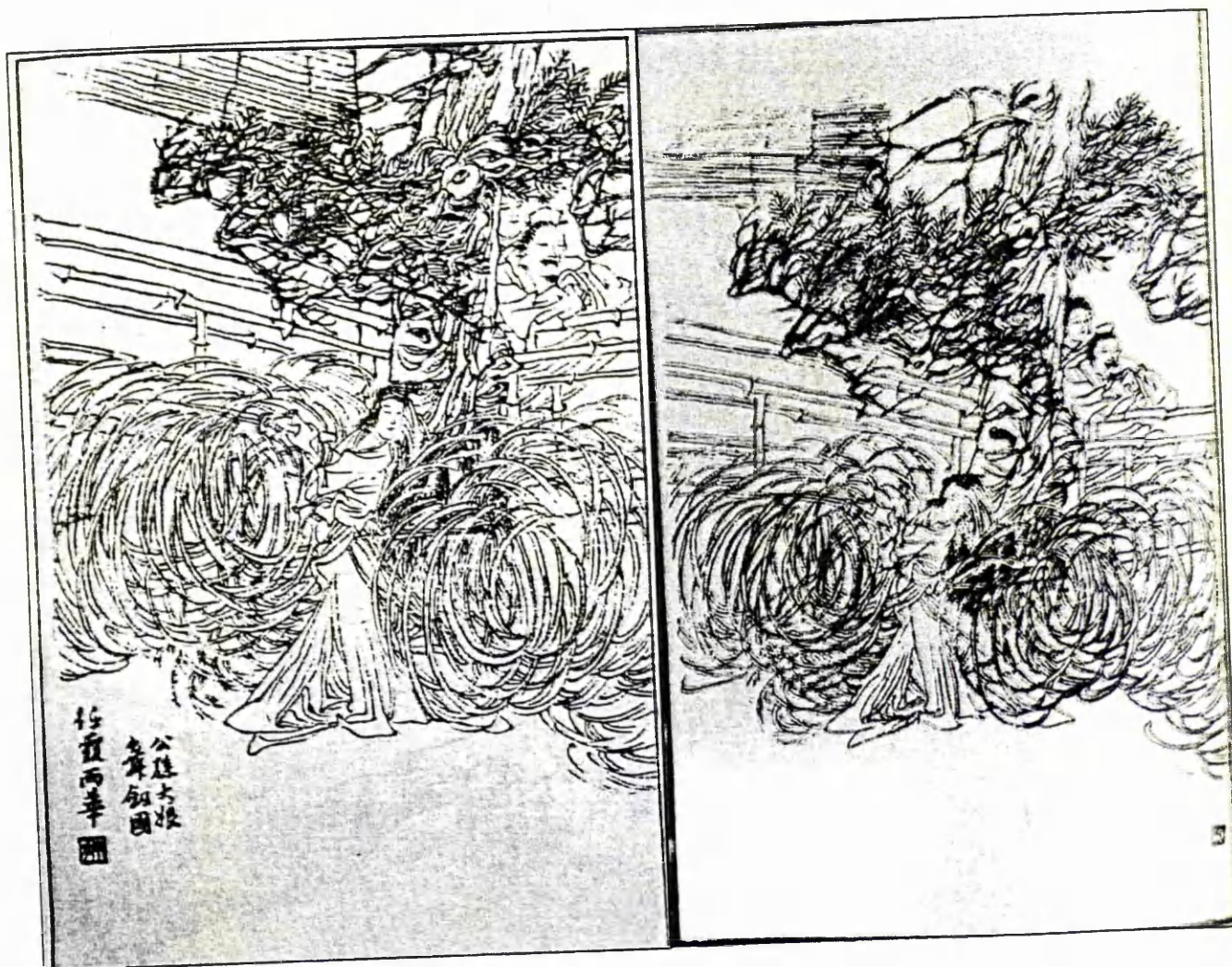


Fig. 278 Li Fu, Xiaohong Singing 小紅低唱
1891. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper,
177 x 46 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

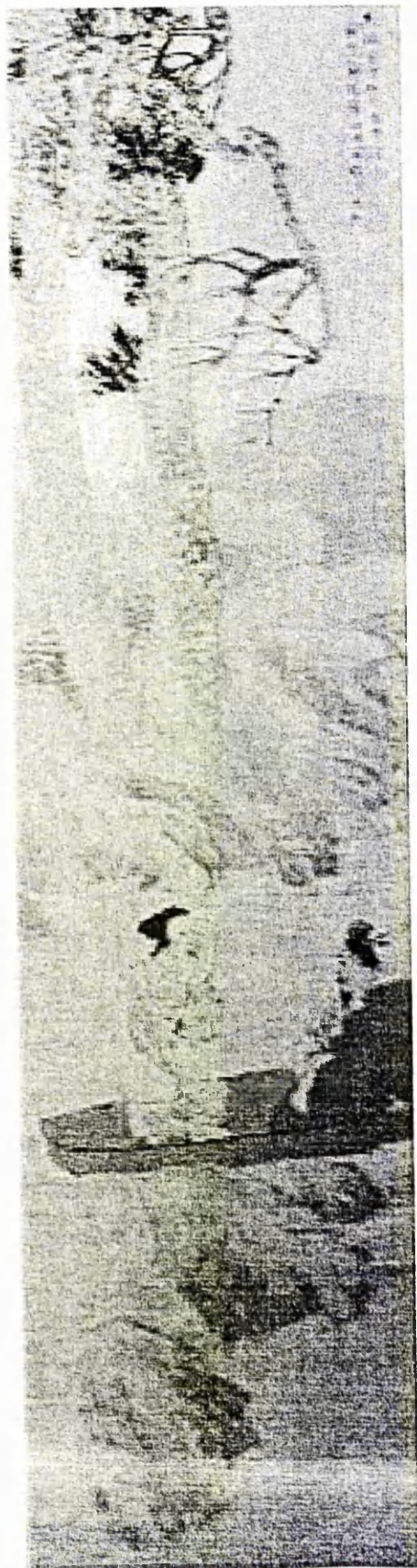


Fig. 279 Ren Bonian, Xiaohong Singing 小紅低唱
1882. Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper,
184 x 45.5 cm, China Art Gallery, Beijing



Fig. 280 Li Fu's inscription,
Detail of Fig. 278



Fig. 281 Attributed to Ren Bonian
Detail of Fig. 283



Fig. 282 Detail of
Fig. 266



Fig. 287 Yu Li, Lady with Birthday Peaches
1886, woodcut print, *Tingylou huapu* 聽雨樓畫譜
(The Painting Manual of The Chamber of Listening to the Rain)



Fig. 288, Ren Bonian, Magu Offering
Birthday Wishes 麻姑獻壽, undated.
142.8 x 34.4 cm, ink and colour on paper,
Nanjing Museum





Fig. 289 Yu Li
Figure with a Horse, 1886-89,
woodcut print, *Tingyulou huapu* 聽雨樓畫譜
(The Painting Manual of The Chamber of
Listening to the Rain)

▼ Fig. 290 Ren Bonian
Looking Solemnly at the Deserted Country 關
河一望蕭索, 1882. Handscroll, 31.5 x 36 cm,
ink and colour on paper, Palace Museum,
Beijing



Fig. 291 Yu Li, Mi Fu Bowing to the Stone
Woodcut print, *Tingyulou huapu* 聽雨樓畫譜,
Shanghai, 1889.



Fig. 292 Attributed to Ren Bonian, Mi Fu
Bowling to the Stone, 1882. Hanging scroll, ink
and light colour, on paper, 126 x 53 cm, China
Art Gallery, Beijing



▼ Fig. 293 Ren Bonian, Mi Fu Bowing to the Stone, woodcut print, *Ren Bonian zhenjihua pu* 任伯年真跡畫譜, 1887 (Manual of Authentic Paintings of Ren Bonian)



APPENDICES



Appendix 1-1

The following references have been very useful for finding the images and inscriptions, I am in particular indebted to Ding Xiyuan and Gong Chanxing's research on Ren Bonian. The translations of Ren Bonian's colophons in this catalogue are mine.

- Chen, Yurui 陳宇瑞 (ed.). *Ren Bonian huaji* 任伯年畫集, Taipei: Dongya yinban youxian gongsi, 1953.
- Ding, Xiyuan 丁羲元, *Ren Bonian-nianpu, lunwen, zhencun, zuopin* 任伯年-年譜、論文、珍存、作品, Shanghai, 1989.
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- Gong, Chanxing 龔彥興. *Ren Bonian yanjiu* 任伯年研究, Tianjin: People's Fine Art Press, 1982.
- Haishang si Ren jingpin* 海上四任精品, Beijing: The Palace Museum, 1992.
- Wang, Jingxian 王靖憲. *Ren Bonian zuopin ji* 任伯年作品集, Beijing, 1992
- Xue, Yongnian 薛永年. *Zhongguo jinxindai mingjia huaji — Ren Bonian* 中國近現代名家畫集 — 任伯年, Taipei: Jinshuo Press, 1994.
- Yan, Wenliang 顏文樑. *Yan Yuan mo Ren Bonian huagao* 顏元摹任伯年畫稿 (Yan Yuan's copy of Ren Bonian's sketch works), 60 pieces, Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1959
- Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu* 中國古代書畫圖目 (Illustrated catalogue of selected works of ancient Chinese painting and calligraphy), Beijing: The Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1986.
- Zhongguo meishu quanji: Huihua* 中國美術全集：繪畫篇 (Complete catalogue of art of China: painting), Shanghai, 1988.

Abbreviation

Format/Material/Size:

A	Album
BS	Blue silk
C	Colour
F	Fan
GI	Gold ink
GP	Gold-foiled paper
GS	Gold-foiled silk
H	Handscroll (horizontal scroll)
I	Ink
K	Sketch
L	Leaf/Leaves
P	Paper
R	Red ink
S	Silk

V Hanging (vertical) scroll

Provenance :

AH—APM	Anhui Provincial Museum
AJ—WMG	Wu Changshuo Memorial Gallery, Anji County, Zhejiang
BJ—ASC	Affiliate School of the Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing
BJ—CAF	Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing
BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery, Beijing
BJ—LXA	Lu Xun Academy of Fine Art, Beijing
BJ—PM	Palace Museum, Beijing
BJ—RBZ	Rongbao zhai, Beijing
BJ—XMG	Xu Beihong Memorial Gallery, Beijing
CA—JYZ	Jingyuanzhai, University of California, Berkeley
CS—APS	Changshou City Antique Preservation Society
CU	Collection Unknown
CZ—CCW	Changzhou City Wenwu Shop, Changzhou
CZ—APS	Changzhou City Antique Preservation Society
CZ—CM	Changzhou City Museum
FC	Former Collection
GZ—AG	Guangzhou Art Gallery
GZ—CM	Guangzhou City Museum
GZ—PM	Guangdong Provincial Museum, Guangzhou
HB—HPM	Hebei Provincial Museum
HK—FJ	Fan Jia, Hong Kong
HK—LCT	Low Chuck Tiew, Hong Kong
HK—LMK	Lou Mei-Kit, Hong Kong
HZ—SY	Siling Yinshe, Hangzhou
HZ—ZCF	Zhejiang College of Fine Art, Hangzhou
HZ—ZPM	Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou
JL—PM	Jilin Provincial Museum
KC—NAM	Nelson Atkins Museum, Kansas City
LN—LM	Liaoning Museum
NJ—NM	Nanjing Museum
NJ—ZCW	Zhang Chengwang, Nanjing
NP—ZAPS	Zhenhai Antique Preservation Society, Ningpo
NT—NM	Nantong Museum, Nantong
NY—MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
NY—RHE	Robert Hatfield Ellsworth, New York
OX—AM	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
PC	Private Collection
PH—PCM	Pinghu County Museum, Zhejiang
SH—CSF	Cheng Shifa, Shanghai
SH—DYX	Duoyun xuan, Shanghai

SH—CTC	Shanghai Craft Trade Company, Shanghai
SH—SAA	Shanghai Artists' Association, Shanghai
SH—SM	Shanghai Museum
SH—SPA	Shanghai Painting Academy, Shanghai
SH—WS	Shanghai wenwu Shop
SP—ZQZ	Zheng Qiaozhi, Singapore
SP—TTC	Tan Tzechor, Singapore
SY—PM	Palace Museum, Shenyang
SZ—LT	Lingyanshan Temple, Suzhou
SZ—SCM	Suzhou City Museum, Suzhou
SZ—SCW	Suzhou City Wenwu Shop
TA—CF	Chang Foundation, Taipei
TA—JBW	Jiang Biwei, Taipei
TA—NPM	National Palace Museum, Taipei
TA—XZD	Xu Zuodian, Taipei
TJ—TAG	Tianjin Art Gallery, Tianjin
TJ—TCW	Tianjin City Wenwu Shop
TJ—TPP	Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art, Tianjin
TK—LZY	Ling Zongyi, Tokyo
TN—SYW	Shi Yunwen, Tainan
WX—CM	Wuxi City Museum
WZ—CM	Wenzhou City Museum, Zhejiang Province

Catalogue of Ren Bonian's Figure Paintings

Date/No	Subject	Format/Material/ Size (in cm)	Artist's Inscription	Provenance	Published/Comments
1865					
1865/1	Lady among Apricot Blossom 玉樓人醉杏花天	VICP, 129 x 33.3	Man charmed by the apricot blossoms in the Jade Pavilion. Ren Xiaolou Run of Shanyin painted in the summer of the <i>yichou</i> year, at the esteemed order of Mr. Zheqing. 玉樓人醉杏花天。哲卿仁兄大人雅屬。乙丑夏日山陰任小樓潤寫	BJ—PM	Pan Shenliang ed., <i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992, vol. 1, p. 79.
1865/2	Lady beneath Banana Tree 芭蕉仕女	VICP, 126 x 33	In the early winter of <i>yichou</i> year, Ren Xiaolou of Shanyin painted in the Thatched hut of Two Rains. 歲在乙丑初冬。寫於二雨草堂，山陰任小樓頤。	SH—CTC	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 8-088
1865/3	Figures after Chen Hongshou 仿陳老蓮人物	VICP, 125 x 61	In the <i>yichou</i> year, Ren Run Xiaolou of Shanyin painted while a guest at Yong River. 乙丑歲山陰任潤小樓寫於甬江客次	SH—DYX	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1986: Vol. 6, Hu 7-1046
1866					
1866/4	Portrait of Fang Qiaoling 方樵齡像	V.	Unknown.	PC	Recorded in Ding Xiyuan, <i>Ren Bonian nianpu</i> , Shanghai, 1989, p. 19
1866/5	Parting at Xiaojia River 小澗江話別圖	VICP	During [my] stay in the east of Yong (Ningpo) as a guest in Spring of <i>bingyin</i> year, Wang tingzhang and I traveled together to the Lu River, which is in the south west of the town. We set down our bags for a few days, and my distant uncle Shunqin and Mr. Yao Xiaofu also came along. [We] talked from heart for several days and felt affinity for each	BJ—CAG	

			other. Brother Xiaofu invited me to Zhenshan Hall, and treated me so well. He offered a plain sheet of paper and asked me to paint a picture of our parting, [I] immediately responded to his request [with a painting] in the style of General Li the younger of Tang. However, my brushwork, too weak to compete [with ancient masters], only fit for a laugh by connoisseurs. Your younger brother Ren Yi recorded all in the Qinyong Pavilion of Damei Mountain Hall.		
1866/6	Lady among Plum Blossoms 梅花仕女	VICP, 100 x 27	丙寅年春客甬東，同萬个亭長游鎮西南鄉之蘆江，卸裝數日，適宗叔舜琴偕姚君小復亦來，譚心數天，頗爲合意。小復兄邀我過真山館，領情款待，出素紙索我作話別圖，爰仿唐小李將軍法以應。然筆墨疏弱，諒不足當，方家一笑也。弟任頤併記於大梅山館之梁詠樓中。	HZ—ZPM	Unpublished
1866/7	Twenty Four Exemplars of Filial Piety 二十四孝圖	AICP, 24 leaves, 15.4 x 20.7	In the <i>bingyin</i> year, Ren Yi Xiaolou of Shanyin painted while staying in Yongjiang (Ningpo). 丙寅歲，山陰任頤小樓寫於甬江客次	GZ—PM	Unpublished
1866/8	Figure 人物冊頁	ALJCP	Ren Yi made this in the Thatched Hut of Two Rains 任頤作於二雨草堂	SH—SM	Unpublished
1866/9	Figure 人物	VICS, 150 x 68.8		BJ—CAG	Zhongguo gudai shuhua tuntu, 1986,

					vol. 1, Jing 3—174
1867					
1867/10	Three Chivalrous Travellers, after Xiao Yuncong 風塵三俠仿蕭雲從法	VICP, 114.8 x 43.6	Ordered by Mr. Poxiang in a spring day of <i>dingmao</i> year. Xiaolou Ren Yi imitated the style of Xiao Chimu [Xiao Yuncong]. 丁卯春日寫奉波香仁兄大人鑒之。小樓任頤效蕭尺木法	SZ—SCM	Pan Shenliang ed., <i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1995, vol. 2, p. 159.
1867/11	Portrait of Recluse of Fan Lake (Portrait of Zhou Xian) 周閑像	VIP, 129 x 49.5	Unsigned. Inscription by Wu Gun 吳儁, Zhou Xian 周閑 and Liu Lufen 劉履芬.	HZ—ZPM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1994, vol. 11, Zhe 1—747
1867/12	Figure in the Style of Chen Laolian 仿陳老蓮人物	VICP	Unknown	BJ—CAG	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1986, vol. 1, Jing 3—175
1867/13	Learning Dao under Pine Tree 松下問道	VICP, 146.5 x 40	Spring of <i>dingmao</i> year of Tongzhi. Painted by Ren Yi Xiaolou. 同治丁卯春杪，任頤小樓甫寫	TJ—TPP	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1990, vol. 8, Jin 14-28; <i>Ren Bonian</i> , 1988, pl. 1.
1867/14	Journal of Trip to Mt. Ziyang 紫陽記遊圖	HIP	In the spring, the first month of <i>dingmao</i> year of Tongzhi, [I] travelled in Wulin with brother Yan'an. 同治丁卯春正月與延庵兄同游武林	HZ—ZPM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1994, vol. 11, Zhe 1-745
1868					
1868/15	Enjoying Plum Blossoms 門梅圖	VICP, 108.6 x 43.8	Second month of the spring of <i>wuchen</i> year. Copying Chen Xiaolian's 'Enjoying Plum Blossoms' for Mr. Jiaosun. Gift of Ren Yi. 戊辰春二月為椒蓀丈先生臨小蓮門梅圖奉贈任頤	BJ—PM	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 4.
1868/16	Lady 仕女	FICGP, size not given.	In the autumn of <i>wuchen</i> year of Tongzhi, [I] happened to paint this in the style of Fei Xiaolou in my studio at Suzhou. 同治戊辰秋杪偶作費曉樓法於蘇臺寓齋	HZ—ZPM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1994, vol. 11, Zhe 1-748

1868/17	Parting at Dongjin 東津話別圖	HICP, 34.1 x 135.8	<p>I have been in Yongshang (Ningpo) for four years. I felt a great affinity to master monk Jieting and Mr. Xu Duofeng when I met them for the first time. Since then, we have been playing music, reciting poems and exploring the beautiful sceneries together. When it was late, we lit the fire; when it rained, we put on the rain-cape. Nothing can really stop us from doing things or enjoying ourselves together. These friendships, in addition to the beauty of Nature, have enriched my life here.</p> <p>But I will have to move to a bigger city to develop my artistic career with my uncle — Fuchang (Ren Xun). Lianshi (Xie Fulián) is leaving to the North with us as well. The date for departure is coming. Dufeng asked me to draw a picture in remembrance of our memories; as in the ancient time, Jiang Yan presented his sorrow in his "Bie Fu" (Prose-poem of Parting) when leaving, and Wang Can displayed his thoughts of the last in the verse "Deng Lou" (Ascending the Tower).</p> <p>This is the tenth day after the flower festival, in the second month of the seventh year of Tongzhi (1868.3.18). The recluse Ren Yi Ciyuan of Shangyin recorded this on this painting ready to be mounted at this place on Gan Stream.</p> <p>客遊甬上已閱四年，方丈个亭，徐朵峰諸君子，一見均如舊識，宵篝燈，雨戴笠，琴歌酒賦，探勝尋幽，相賞無虛日。江山之助，友聲之樂，斯游洵不負矣。茲將隨叔阜長槩筆游金閭，廉始亦計偕北上。行有日矣，朵峰抱江淹賦別之悲，觸王粲登樓之思，爰寫此圖，以志星萍之感。同治七年二月花朝後十日，山陰任頤次遠甫倚裝畫並記於甘溪寓次。</p>	BJ—CAG	<i>Ren Bonian renwu huaifeng</i> , Sichuan: Chungqing chubanshe, 1997, pl. 96
1868/18	Portrait of Ren Xun 任薰像	VICP, 117 x 31.2	<p>Ordered by my second uncle, Mr. Fuchang (Ren Xun). Please comment. In the winter, the tenth month of <i>wuchen</i> year, we both stayed in Suzhou as guests. Yi.</p> <p>阜長二叔大人命畫，即求正之。戊辰冬十月同客蘇臺，頤。</p>	BJ—CAG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, plate 5

1868/19	Portrait of Hengyun shanmin as Beggar (Portrait of Hu Gongshou) 橫雲山民行乞圖	VICP, 147 x 42	Painted by Ren Bonian of Xiaoshan. 蕭山任柏年寫 Additional colophon by Hu Gongshou.	BJ—CAF	<i>Yiqu yu jishu - Ming Qing huihua touxi guoji xueshu taolunhui tezhan tulu</i> , Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 1994: pl. 69
1868/20	Portrait of Liusheng 榴生像	VICP, 128.2 x 47.8	Unsigned. Colophon by Hu Gongshou: Portrait of brother Liusheng at the age of forty, painted by Ren Bonian of Xiaoshan and inscribed by Gongshou (Hu Yuan) in the winter of <i>wuchen</i> year. 榴生仁兄四十歲小像。戊辰之冬蕭山任柏年寫公壽署款。	NJ—NM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992: vol. 2, p. 143
1868/21	Portrait of Sha Fu at the Age of Thirty-Nine 沙馥三十九歲像	VICP, 128.6 x 32.3	The end of winter of <i>wuchen</i> year, Tongzhi, Ren Yi Bonian painted in the studio at Suzhou. 同治戊辰冬孟，任頤伯年寫於蘇臺寓齋	NJ—NM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , 1992: vol. 2, p. 165
1868/22	Portrait of Chen Yunsheng 陳允升像	VICP, size not given	The end of winter of the <i>wuchen</i> year, Tongzhi, Ren Bonian <i>fu</i> painted in the studio in Shanghai. 同治戊辰冬仲，任柏年寫於上海寓齋	HZ—ZPM	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1994, vol. 11, Zhe 1-749
1868/23	Portrait of Wusheng 悟生像	HICP, size not given	Parting the Dusty World. For Wusheng, my second brother. The end of winter of the <i>wuchen</i> year, Ren Yi. 出塵圖爲悟生二兄，戊辰冬仲任頤	HZ—ZPM	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1994, vol. 11, Zhe 1-750
1868/24	Portrait of Fanshi Mountain Man Jiang Shinong at the Age of Forty-One 飯石山農(姜石農)四十一 歲小像	VICP, 130.5 x 55.7	Unsigned. Inscription by Hu Gongshou. Winter, the seventh year of Tongzhi. Xiaoshan Ren Bonian made the portrait, and Huating Hu Gongshou added the landscape and inscription. 同治七年之冬，蕭山任柏年寫真，華亭胡公壽補景并贊。	SH—SM	<i>Ren Bonian renwu huafeng</i> , Sichuan: Chungqing chubanshe, 1997, pl. 119

1868/25	Portrait of Mrs. Peiqiu at the Age of Thirty-Eight (Portrait of the Wife of Jiang Shinong) 佩秋夫人三十八歲小像 *Joint work by Ren Bonian and Hu Gongshou	VICP, size not given	Unsigned. Inscription by Hu Gongshou: Portrait of Mrs. Peiqiu at the Age of thirty-eight. In the winter of the seventh year of Tongzhi, Minister [Jiang] Shinong ordered the portrait from Ren Bonian and [Hu] Gongshou added the plum. 佩秋夫人三十八歲小像。同治七年之冬石農刺史屬任伯年寫公壽補梅。	SZ—SCM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 2, p. 157
1869					
1869/26	Portrait of a Lady Picking Plum Blossom 折梅圖 *Joint work by Ren Bonian and Hu Gongshou	VICS, 97.3 x 34.4	Unsigned. Inscription by Hu Gongshou: The twelfth month of the <i>wuchen</i> year (1869), Ren Bonian portrayed the figure; Hu Gongshou of Huating added the background scene. 戊辰冬十二月任伯年寫真，華亭胡公壽補景。	HZ—ZPM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1994: vol. 11, Zhe 1 — 751
1869/27	Story of Chen Tuan 陳搏像	FGBS, size not given	For the elder gentleman, Mr. Shimei. Bonian Ren Yi painted in the spring, the third month of <i>jisi</i> year in Shanghai. 嗜梅老伯大人教之，同治己巳春三月伯年任頤寫於滬	HZ—ZPM	Unpublished
1869/28	Portrait of Ren Songyun 任崧雲像	VICP, 173.1 x 47.3	Portrait of Late Mr. Songyun. In the winter of the <i>jisi</i> year of Tongzhi, Brother Ren Bonian portrayed this, Hu Gongshou of Huating added trees, rocks and inscription. 崧雲先生遺像。同治己巳嘉平先生令似任伯年仁兄寫真 屬華亭胡公壽補樹石并記。 Inscription by Hu Gongshou.	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , 1992: vol. 1, p. 53
1870					
1870/29	Portrait of Yongzhi at the	HICP, 66.6 x 139.7	The second month of the <i>gengwu</i> year, Tongzhi. Bonian	SH—SM	<i>Mingjia Hanmo</i> , No. 28, 1992.5, p.

	Age of Fifty 詠之五十歲 像 *Portrait painted by Xu Gu and background setting by Ren Bonian.		Ren Yi added the background scene. 同治庚午二月伯年任頤補圖		54~55.
1870/30	Portrait of Shenfu 深甫像 *Joint work by an anonymous portrait painter and Ren Bonian	VICP, 40 x 95	The third month of the <i>gengwu</i> year, Tongzhi. Bonian Ren Yi Yi added the background scene. 同治庚午三月伯年任頤補圖	SH—DYX	<i>Mingjia Hamo</i> , No. 28, 1992.5, p. 60.
1870/31	Portrait of Mr. Shitang Welcoming Guests 詩堂先生迎賓圖	VICP, 127.5 x 54	Portrait of Mr. Shitang Welcoming Guests. Bonian Ren Yi painted this in the winter of <i>gengwu</i> year (1870). 詩堂先生迎賓圖，伯年任頤寫於庚午嘉平	GZ—AG	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, p. 33
1870/32	Nongyu 弄玉	VICP, 76.8 x 40.5	Winter, the tenth month of <i>gengwu</i> year, Tongzhi. Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Yihexuan in Shanghai. 同治庚午冬十月，伯年任頤寫於滬城之倚鶴軒	TJ—TPP	Guo Xueshi ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988, pl. 4.
1871					
1871/33	Figures 人物	FICP	For the kind comment of Mr. Zhiyun. In the autumn, the ninth month of <i>xinwei</i> year. Bonian Ren Yi. 稚雲仁兄大人正之。辛未秋九月，伯年任頤	BJ—CAF	Unpublished
1871/34	Two Immortals 二仙圖	VICP	At Midwinter of the <i>xinwei</i> year, Tongzhi, Bonian Ren Yi painted this at Biwu Book Drawing in Shanghai. 同治辛未仲冬，伯年任頤寫於黃歇浦上碧梧書屋	BJ—RBZ	Tang Hui ed., <i>Rongbaozhai huapu</i> , Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1995, p. 44.
1872					
1872/35	God of Longevity 無量壽佛	VICP, 112 x 45.5	The seventh day of the first month, <i>renshen</i> year. [I] painted the first group [of figure accompanying] Amitabha Buddha.	SH—SPA	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tunu</i> , 1993: vol. 12, Hu 2 — 21

				Bonian Ren Yi. 壬申正月七日寫無量壽佛第一軀。伯年任頤		
1872/36	Congratulations on Official Promotion 加官晉爵	VICP, 180.4 x 95.5		The winter of <i>renshen</i> year, Tongzhi. Painted by Bonian Ren Yi. 同治壬申嘉平伯年任頤寫	SH—SM	Unpublished
1872/37	Paying Homage to Buddha 禮佛圖	VICP, 104 x 32		At midwinter of <i>renshen</i> year, Tongzhi. Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 同治壬申仲冬，伯年任頤寫於黃歇浦上	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 7
1872/38	Playing <i>Xiao</i> on a Boat 遊艇吟簫	FICGP, 25 x 53		In late spring of <i>renshen</i> year, Mr. Zhongling gracefully ordered this. Bonian Ren Yi. 壬申春孟寫爲仲春仁兄大人雅屬。伯年任頤。	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 9
1872/39	Bringing Auspicious Wishes 獻瑞圖	VICP, 149 x 78		At midwinter of <i>renshen</i> year, Tongzhi. Bonian Ren Yi painted it in Shanghai. 同治壬申冬仲伯年任頤寫於黃歇浦上	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 6
1872/40	Zhong Kui 鍾馗	VICP, 133.5 x 66.4		Bonian Ren Yi painted this at Chunshen River [Shanghai]. 伯年任頤寫於春申江上	BJ—CAF	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 15
1872/41	Portrait of Zhang Zixiang at the Age of Seventy 張子祥七十歲小像	VIP		Painted by Bonian Ren Yi. 伯年任頤寫	PC	R. Vinograd, <i>Boundaries of the Self</i> , 1992: Fig. 67
1872/42	Anonymous Portrait 憑欄賞荷人物肖像	VICP, 133 x 67		In winter, the beginning of the tenth month of <i>renshen</i> year, Bonian Ren Yi painted this in the Biwu Studio in Shanghai. 壬申冬十月上浣伯年任頤寫於黃歇浦上之碧梧書屋	HZ—SY	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1994: Zhe 4 — 200
1873						
1873/43	Portrait of Ge Zhonghua at	VICP, 118.6 x 60.3		Painted by Ren Bonian	BJ—PM	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren</i>

	the Age of Twenty-Seven 葛仲華像		任伯年寫			<i>Bonian, Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 18</i>
1873/44	Appreciating Lotus 愛蓮圖	VICP, 103 x 54	In the winter, the tenth month of <i>guichou</i> year, Tongzhi. Painted by Bonian Ren Yi in the studio in Shanghai. 同治癸酉冬十月伯年任頤寫於滬上寓次	SH—CTC		<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu, 1993 vol. 12, 8-095</i>
1873/45	Maoshu Appreciating Lotus 茂叔愛蓮	FICP, 17.8 x 54.3	Unsigned. Inscription by Wu Changshuo and Zheng Wenzhuo	NJ—NM		<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin, Beijing: Hebei Maichu chubanshe, 1994, vol. 2, p. 198.</i>
1873/46	Figures 人物	AICP, 2 leaves, 24.9 x 36.4	1. The beginning of autumn of the <i>guiyou</i> year, Tongzhi. [I] imitated the brushwork of Qiu Shifu. 同治癸酉新秋上浣仿仇實父筆法 2. At midsummer of <i>yihai</i> year (1875). Bonian Ren Yi. 乙亥仲夏伯年任頤	SH—SM		<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu, 1990: vol. 5, Hu 1-4588</i>
1873/47	Herding and Reading 牧牛讀書	FICGP	Unknown.	SZ—SCW		<i>Recorded in Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu, 1988vol. 6 Su3-145</i>
1874						
1874/48	Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊	VICP, 180.8 x 98.3	Bonian Ren Yi wrote this in his studio at Chunshen River [Shanghai] 伯年任頤寫於春申浦上寓次	BJ—CAF		<i>Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., Ren Bonian, Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 22</i>
1874/49	Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊	HICP	Unknown	TJ—TPP		<i>Recorded in Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu, vol. 8, Jin 4 -32</i>
1874/50	Figure after Chen Hongshou 仿陳洪綬人物圖	VICP, 137.3 x 32.6	<i>Yuanxiao</i> [fifteenth day of the first month] of the year of <i>jiaxu</i> , by candlelight [I] wrote this in the Fairy House of Crowded Flowers. My brush follows my inspiration as I	SH—SM		<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu, 1990: vol. 5, Hu 1 — 4589</i>

			study the style of Laolian. I wonder whether the critics feel that I have obtained a little [of the spirit of Chen Hongshou]! 甲戌元宵秉燭寫於叢花仙館，性至筆隨，極學老蓮，鑒者以為有所得否，任伯年並記。			
1874/51	Zhong Kui Wearing a Flower 簪花鍾馗	VICP, 139.5 x 66.5	Three days before <i>duanyang</i> [the fifth day of the fifth month] of the <i>jiaxu</i> year, Tongzhi. Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 同治甲戌端陽前三日，伯年任頤寫於滬上寓次	PC		<i>Zhong Kui Baitu</i> , Wang Lanxi ed., Hebei: Lingnan meishu chubanshe, 1990, pl. 33; sold for HK\$850,000, Christie's Hong Kong, 1991.9
1874/52	Zhong Kui 鍾馗	VICP, 135 x 64	Midday, fifth day of the fifth month of the <i>jiaxu</i> year, Tongzhi. Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 同治甲戌五月五日午時，伯年任頤寫於黃歇浦上寓齋	BJ—CAF		Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 19
1874/53	Three Star Gods 三星圖	VICP, 228 x 105.5	Midsummer of the <i>jiaxu</i> year, Tongzhi, painted by Bonian Ren Yi. 同治甲戌仲夏伯年任頤寫	HZ—ZPM		Unpublished
1874/54	The God of Longevity 壽星圖	VICP, 174 x 95.5	The eighth month of the autumn of the <i>jiaxu</i> year, Tongzhi. Bonian Ren Yi painted this while staying Shanghai. 同治甲戌秋八月上浣伯年任頤寫於春申浦上客次	PC		Sold for HK\$350,000 in September 1991 at the Christie's, Hong Kong; <i>Mingjia Hanmo</i> , No. 27, 1992. 4, p. 122
1874/55	Female Immortals 女仙圖	VICP, 175 x 92	Two days before the Autumn Festival of the <i>jiaxu</i> year, Tongzhi. Bonian Ren Yi wrote this at Chunshen River [Shanghai]. 同治甲戌中秋前二日，伯年任頤寫於春申浦上	PC		Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 23
1874/56	Bringing Auspicious Wishes from Five Directions 五方進財人物圖	VICP, 149.5 x 83	In the beginning of the winter of <i>jiaxu</i> year, Tongzhi, Bonian Ren Yi painted this at the residence in Shanghai. 同治甲戌嘉平上瀛伯年任頤寫于春申浦上寓次	SH—CTC		<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1990: vol. 6, Hu 8 — 097

1874/57	Two Seated Elders 二老並坐圖	VICP, 116 x 57.8	In the autumn of the <i>jiaxu</i> year, Tongzhi, Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 甲戌秋杪伯年任頤寫於海上	TJ—TPP	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 21 *Questionable, see Chapter 5, p. 186~187
1875					
1875/58	Magu Offering Her Birthday Wishes 麻姑獻壽圖	VICP, 181.4 x 91.8)	The first year of Guangxu, <i>yihai</i> , Ren Yi Bonian painted in Shanghai. 光緒元年歲次乙亥任頤伯年寫於春申浦	SH—SAA	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1993: Vol. 12, Hu 4-08
1875/59	Figure 人物	VICP.	Mr. Aoqing gracefully ordered this. In summer, the fourth month of the year <i>yihai</i> , Bonian Ren Yi. 鰲卿仁兄大人雅屬。乙亥夏四月，伯年任頤。	BJ—RBZ	
1876					
1876/60	Lady with an Orchid 美人香草圖	VICS, 134 x 48.5	Guangxu, <i>bingzi</i> year, Ren Yi painted this while a guest in Shanghai. 光緒丙子任頤寫於黃歇浦上客齋	PC	Former collection of Tan Tsze-Chor 陳之初; sold for HK\$ 120,000 in October, 1990, Christie's Hong Kong; <i>Mingjia Hamo</i> , no. 28, (1992. 5), p.71
1876/61	God of Literature 魁星圖	VICP, 134 x 61	For worship, offered by Qingbai luzhu. The seventh month of the second year of Guangxu, <i>jiazi</i> . Ren Yi painted this with respect. 青拜廬主供奉光緒二年七月甲子金魁日任頤敬繪	BJ—CAF	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 28. *Additional colophon by Ren Jinshu, dated 1929.
1876/62	Zhi Dun Caring for a Horse 支遁愛馬	VICP, 135.5 x 30	Mr. Peichang kindly ordered this, please comment. Early autumn of <i>bingzi</i> year. Bonian Ren Yi painted at his studio in Shanghai.	SH—SM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1990: vol. 5, Hu 1 — 4590

			鎔常仁五兄大人雅屬即謂正之，光緒丙子新秋伯年任頤寫於海上寓齋			
1876/63	Walking with a Staff in an Autumn Mountain 秋山策杖圖	VICP, 132.5 x 31.5	Mr. Chuping kindly ordered this painting. Early autumn of <i>bingzi</i> year, Guangxu, Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 初屏仁兄大人雅屬，光緒丙子新秋伯年任頤寫於海上寓齋	TJ—TAG		<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 2, p. 173
1876/64	Figure Paintings 人物扇面冊	12 ALJCS, various sizes	Summer of <i>bingzi</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi painted this for Mr. Jiansan. Please comment. 光緒丙子仲夏伯年任頤寫，緘三仁兄大人正之	PC		Sold for Sotheby's Hong Kong, November 1988; <i>Arts of Asia</i> , vol. 8, (May/June 1988), p. 27.
1877						
1877/65	Portrait of Jiang Shinong at the age of Fifty (Sitting on a Rock) 姜石農五十歲小像	VICP, 74.9 x 48.4	The first month of the third year of Guangxu. Birthday congratulations to my benevolent friend Shinong. Bonian Ren Yi. 光緒三年正月爲石農良友五十壽伯年任頤	SZ—SCM		Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 31
1877/66	Portrait of Jiang Shi-Nong Under A Banana Tree 姜石農小像	VIP, 49 x 46.4	Spring of <i>dingchou</i> year of, Guangxu. Ren Yi. 光緒丁丑春任頤	SZ—SCM		<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 2, p. 155
1877/67	Portrait of Mr. Fanshi (Jiang Shinong) at the Age of Fifty 飯石先生五十小象	HICP.	Portrait of Mr. Fanshi at the Age of Fifty. The first month of the third year of Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi. 飯石先生五十小象，光緒三年正月伯年任頤	CU		<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , ed. BJ—CAG: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 22
1877/68	Portrait of Wu Zhongying at the Age of Fifty-six	VICP.	Portrait of Wu Zhongying at the Age of Fifty-six. Spring, second month of the third year, Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin	Dong Xiwen 董希文		Zhang Xiaoling & Dong Yue ed., <i>Ren Bonian renwu huafeng</i> . Sichuan:

吳仲英五十六歲小像		吳仲英五十六歲小像。光緒三年春二月，山陰任頤		Chungqing chubanshe, 1997, pl. 54 Additional inscriptions by Ma Heng 馬衡 and Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻。
1877/69 Portrait of He Yicheng at the Age of Fifty-one 何以誠仁兄五十一歲小像	VICP, 132 x 42	The fifth month of <i>dingchou</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi of Shanyin. 光緒丁丑五月山陰伯年任頤	BJ—CAF	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 27
1877/70 Figure painting in the Style of Chen Laolian 老蓮人物圖	VICP, 139.8 x 38.2	Bonian Ren Yi painted at Qingtongxuan in Shanghai, at summer, middle day of the fifth month, <i>dingchou</i> year. 伯年任頤寫于春申江之青桐軒，時丁丑夏五中浣	SH—SM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1990: vol. 5, Hu 1-4591
1877/71 Zhong Kui Chasing Evil and Preserving Good Fortune 鍾馗驅邪保福圖	VICP.	Midsummer of the <i>dingchou</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 光緒丁丑仲夏伯年任頤寫于春申浦	SH—DYYX	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1990: vol. 12, Hu 7-1054
1877/72 Portrait of Gao Yong (1850~1921) at the Age of Twenty-eight 高邕二十八歲小像 NB: the portrait was painted by Ren Bonian, calligraphy and the background trees by Hu Gongshou	VICP, 130.9 x 48.5	Unsigned Inscriptions by Yang Borun and Hu Gongshou.	SH—SM	<i>Chinese Paintings from the Shanghai Museum, 1851~1911</i> , Edinburgh: NMS Publishing Ltd., 2000, p. 103.
1877/73 Figure and Peacock 雀屏中選	VICP, 184 x 95	Golden peacock [painted] on the screen. Early autumn of the <i>dingchou</i> year. Bonian Ren Yi.	BJ—CAG	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1990: vol. 1986, Jing 3-181

1877/74	Figure Painting 人物 Joint work by Ren Bonian and Fei Yiqun	FICGS.	屏開金孔雀。丁丑新秋伯年任頤 The summer of <i>dingchou</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi. 光緒丁丑夏孟伯年任頤	HZ—SY	Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu, 1990: vol. 11, Zhe 4—201
1877/75	Portrait of Ling Weixian (1842~?) at His Study 還 讀圖	VICP, 134.4 x 48	Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 伯年任頤寫於海上 Inscriptions: 1. Portrait of the Mountain man of Mengmo, at the age of thirty, at his scholar's study. Ren Bonian of Shanyin painted in Shanghai. The summer of the <i>dingchou</i> year, [Ling] Weixian recorded this himself. 味閑自題簽於邊「夢墨山樵三十五歲小像還讀圖，山陰 任伯年寫於海上，丁丑夏季味閑自記」 2. Scholar's Study. Brother Weixian gracefully asked me to write this. Midsummer of the <i>dingchou</i> year (1877). He Yuan. 味閑老弟大雅屬題丁丑仲夏賀瑗	SH—SM	Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu, 1990: vol. 1-5, Hu 1 — 4642
1877/76	Sketch of the Portrait of Feng Gengsan 馮耕山像底 稿	KICP	Unsigned	SH—SM	Unpublished
1877/77	Portrait of Feng Gengsan 馮耕山像	VICP, 127.4 x 55.2	The fifteenth day of the ninth month, the year of <i>dingchou</i> , Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi painted this. 光緒丁丑九月望日，伯年任頤寫	SH—SM	Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu, 1990: vol. 1-5, Hu 1 — 4592 Additional colophons by Hu Yuan 胡遠, Zhang Xiong 張熊, Chen Manshou 陳曼 壽 and Wu Gan 吳淦.

1877/78	Carrying on the Family Glory 丹桂五芳	VICP, 181.5 x 95.1	Five branches of fragrance of peony and cassia (carrying on the family glory). Early autumn of <i>dingchou</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi. 丹桂五枝芳。光緒丁丑新秋，伯年任頤	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 1, p. 56
1877/79	Crossing the Bridge in the Rain 風雨渡橋	VICP, 155.5 x 53.5	The fifteenth day of the ninth month, the year of <i>dingchou</i> , Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi painted this. 光緒丁丑九月之望伯年任頤寫	BJ—PM	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 29
1877/80	Pavilion of Listening to the Rain 聽雨樓圖 NB: joint work by Ren Bonian, Hu Yuan, Yang Borun and Chen Yunsheng.	HICP, 180 x 48	Bonian Ren Yi. 伯年任頤	CZ—CCW	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 6, Su 16—35
1877/81	Magu Offering Her Birthday Wishes 麻姑獻壽	VICP	Unknown	NJ—NM	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol.7, Su 24-1340
1877/82	Figure Painting 人物	VICP, 247x188	Early autumn of the <i>dingchou</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi painted in Qingtongxuan in Shanghai.光緒丁丑新秋，伯年任頤寫於春申浦上之青桐軒	LN—LM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol.15, Liao 1-712
1877/83	Figure Painting 人物	4 VICP, 180 x 94	1. Early autumn of the <i>dingchou</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi painted in Shanghai.光緒丁丑新秋，伯年任頤寫於春申江上 2. Five branches of fragrance of peony and cassia (carrying on the family glory). Autumn of <i>dingchou</i> year. Bonian Ren Yi. 丹桂五枝芳。丁丑秋月，伯年任頤	Palace Museum, Shenyang	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol.15, Liao 2-448

			3. Golden peacock [painted] on the screen. Autumn of the <i>dingchou</i> year. Bonian Ren Yi. 屏開金孔雀。丁丑秋月伯年任頤 4. Offering incense to Heaven. Early spring of <i>yiyou</i> year of Guangxu. Bonian. Early autumn of the <i>dingchou</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi. 焚香誥天。光緒丁丑新秋。伯年任頤		
1877/84	Composing a Poem While Riding a Donkey 驢背思詩	VICP	Midwinter of the <i>dingchou</i> year, Bonian Ren Yi painted this at his studio in Shanghai. 光緒丁丑仲冬伯年任頤寫於春申浦上寓齋	TN—SYW	Unpublished
1878					
1878/85	Zhong Kui 硃筆鍾馗	VRIP	The first day of <i>wuyin</i> year of Guangxu, [1] painted Zhongnan Jinshi (Zhong Kui) to pray for the peace and blessing to our great dynasty. Bonian Ren Yi recorded in Shanghai. 光緒戊寅元旦寫終南進士，窮際盛世，庇福降祥之意，伯年任頤記於滬上寓齋	CU	
1878/86	Drunken Zhong Kui 醉鍾馗圖	FICP, 18 x 50	Mr. Zhihe kindly placed the order, please comment. Midsummer of the <i>wuyin</i> year, Bonian Ren Yi. 子鶴仁兄大人雅屬即請正之，戊寅仲夏伯年任頤	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 27
1878/87	Zhong Kui Carrying a Sword 持劍鍾馗	V	Not drawing Zhong Kui going to the court, But describing him playing sword and citing poems. The states are peaceful and dutiful nowadays,	Lost	Cf. Yan Yuan, Zhong Kui, after a Painting by Ren Bonian (1878), Sketch, Collection unknown; published in Wang Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huajji</i> , Beijing:

			There is no need to trouble Mr. [Zhong Kui] to eat the demons. 不繪鍾馗趨殿時，寫他彈劍哦新詩。如今畿輔稱寧服， 無勞先生吸魑魅		Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, p. 495
1878/88	Zhong Kui Killing a Fox 鍾馗斬狐圖	VICP, 134.3 x 65.5	The fifth month, in summer of the year of <i>wuyin</i> , Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 光緒戊寅夏五月伯年任頤寫於滬上 Additional colophon by Wu Changshuo	TJ—TAG	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 33.
1878/89	Zhong Kui Catching a Demon 鍾馗捉鬼圖	VICP, 132 x 66.2	The fifth month, the summer of the year of <i>wuyin</i> , Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi painted this at his studio in Shanghai. 光緒戊寅夏五月伯年任頤寫於海上寓齋	TJ—TAG	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 32
1878/90	Zhong Kui 鍾馗	VRIP	Unknown	CS—APS	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 6, Su 4-146
1878/91	Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠	VICP, 148.5 x 66	After the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the <i>wuyin</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi painted this at his studio in Shanghai. 光緒戊寅七月望後，任頤寫於海上寓齋	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 1, p. 57
1878/92	Portrait of Wu Gan 吳淦肖像	VICP, 130 x 56.6	Portrait of Mr. Jutan at the age of fifty-two. The ninth month of the <i>wuyin</i> year, Ren Yi Bonian painted this in Shanghai. 鞠潭先生五十二歲小景，光緒戊寅九月山陰任頤伯年寫於海上寓齋	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 1, p. 54
1878/93	Old Fisherman on the Spring River 春江漁父	VICP, 135 x 75.2	For Mr. Xiaoting, please comment. The <i>wuyin</i> year, Ren Yi. 筱庭仁兄大人鑒。戊寅任頤。	BJ—PM	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 36
1878/94	Recluse in the Bamboo	FICS	Unknown	SH—SAA	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua</i>

	Grove with an Attendant 修竹高士					<i>tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 4-11
1878/95	Lady 仕女紉扇	FICS, D/25		Mr. Zizai, the great connoisseur, please comment. In a frosty morning, year of <i>wuyin</i> . 子栽仁兄大鑑賞家正之，戊寅霜降後日頭	NJ—NM	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 24
1878/96	Travellers and a Donkey Cart 驢車圖	FICP		Unknown	SZ—SCW	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 6, Su 3-147
1879						
1879/97	Appreciating Plum Blossom 策杖賞梅,	VICP, 118.5 x 24.5		Mr. Zhongchao gracefully made the order, please comment. Spring, the third month of the <i>jimao</i> year, Bonian Ren Yi painted after the method of Chen Zhanghou (Chen Hongshou) in Shanghai. 仲超仁兄雅屬即正，己卯立春三月法陳章侯，伯年任頤客海上寓齋寫	HK—LCT	<i>Mingjia Hanmo</i> , No. 28, 1992. 5, p.61
1879/98	Transmitting Poetry, Portrait of Chen Honggao and Chen Huijuan 授詩圖，陳鴻誥及陳慧娟像	HICP, 97.7 x 51.7		An auspicious spring day, <i>jimao</i> year, Guangxu. Painted by Ren Yi of Shanyin. 光緒己卯仲春吉日，山陰任頤寫	TJ—TPP	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 38. Additional colophon by Yang Borun.
1879/99	Portrait of Wu Wenxun Seeking the poetic Inspirations under the Pine Tree. 吳文恂松下尋詩小像 NB: The portrait was	V		Last night the spring rain nourished the ten thousand things. The fresh, greenish appearance of mountains look like someone who just had a shower. While sitting on a rock under the tall pine trees and seeing the scene, a meditative man would be inspired to compose a poem. 昨宵潤物春雨過，山谷翠黛膏沐罷。幽人對此詩思生，	Tianyige 天一閣, Ningpo	Additional inscriptions by Yang Borun 楊伯潤, Xu Xiaocang 徐小倉, Hu Gongshou 胡公壽 and Pu Hua 蒲華.

	Painted by Ren Bonian and background setting by Hu Gongshou.		選石來坐長松下		
1879/100	Searching for Plum Blossom in the Snow 踏雪尋梅	FICS, D/25	In the spring, the third month of the <i>jimao</i> year, Guangxu. For Mr. Guangquan's perusal. 光緒己卯春三月，廣泉兄大人雅正，古越伯年頤	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 25
1879/101	Boating 泛舟圖	FICS, D/25	For the calligrapher, Mr. Jinghua. Please point out my shortcomings. Junior brother Yi. 景華仁兄法家指疵，弟頤	BJ—CAG	Zhang Xiaoling & Dong Yue ed., <i>Ren Bonian renwu huafeng</i> , Sichuan: Chungqing chubanshe, 1997, pl. 81
1879/102	Herd boy and Buffaloes 牧牛圖	FICGP	For Brother Xitai's perusal. In the summer, the fourth month of the <i>jimao</i> year, Guangxu, Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 熙臺仁大兄雅正，光緒己卯夏四月伯年任頤寫於海上寓齋	SH—DYX	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1993: vol. 6, Hu 7-1056
1879/103	Gan Mo Forging a Sword 干莫煉劍	VICP, 150.5 x 40.7	The autumn, the ninth month of <i>jimao</i> year, Guangxu. For Mr. Zhilan's perusal. Ren Yi Bonian. 光緒己卯秋九月吉日，沚瀾仁大兄屬即請教正，任頤伯年	BJ—PM	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 39
1879/104	Album Leaves of Figure and Flower Paintings 人物花卉冊 NB: Jointly painted by Ren Xun 任薰 and Ren Bonian	ALICP, 25 x 32	1. Mid-autumn of <i>jimao</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian, Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 光緒己卯仲秋伯年任頤寫於海上 2. Mid-autumn of <i>jimao</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi of Ancient Yue State [Zhejiang] 光緒己卯晚秋之吉古越伯年任頤	SH—SPA	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 6, Hu 2-24
1879/105	Album of Figure and	8 ALICGP	Spring, the third month of <i>jimao</i> year, Guangxu. For Mr.	WZ—WCM.	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 11,

	Flower Paintings 雜畫冊		Xiuhua. Bonian Ren Yi. 光緒己卯春三月吉日寫似秀華仁兄大人雅正。伯年任頤		Zhe 25-57
1879/106	Wang Xizhi Watching the Geese 羲之觀鵝	VICP, 130.5 x 64.3	In spring, the first month of the <i>jimao</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian, Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 光緒己卯春正月伯年任頤寫於黃歇浦道客次	SP—ZQZ	<i>Chinese Painting from the Asian Manila Foundation</i> , Taipei: Chang Foundation, 1994, 159
1879/107	Conversing in the Autumn Woods 秋林策杖	VICP, 143.5 x 77	In the autumn, the eighth month of the <i>jimao</i> year, Guangxu. Copying the painting by Ding Yunpeng from memory in Shanghai. Written by Shanyin Bonian, Ren Yi. 光緒己卯秋八月上浣，背臨丁雲鵬本於春申浦□□。山陰伯年任頤並記。	PC	Sold for HK\$500,000 in 1990.5 at Sotheby's Hong Kong; <i>Mingjia Hammo</i> , No. 27, (1992.4), p.119
1880					
1880/108	Principle of Five Relations 五倫圖	VICP	On an auspicious day in Spring in the <i>gengchen</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒庚辰仲春之吉山陰任頤伯年甫寫于春申浦寓齋	NJ—ZCW	Unpublished
1880/109	Portrait of Shen Luting at His Study 沈蕙汀讀書圖	HICP, 30 x 40	For Brother Luting's perusal. In Spring of the <i>gengchen</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Bonian. 蕙汀仁兄屬寫即正。光緒庚辰春仲任伯年	BJ—PM	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 42
1880/110	Travellers 行旅圖	VICP, 132.5 x 50	On an auspicious spring day, <i>gengchen</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 光緒庚辰仲春之吉，伯年任頤寫於海上寓齋	BJ—CAG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , China Art Gallery ed., Beijing, 1996, pl. 30
1880/111	Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠	VICP, 122.7 x 47	Sharing the same interests [in art] with Mr. Jishan. The auspicious day of mid-spring, the year of <i>gengchen</i> , Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi <i>fu</i> . 已山大人同好之盛，光緒庚辰仲春吉日，山陰任頤伯年	SH—SM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 5, Hu 1-4597

1880/112	Fisherman 漁父圖	VICP	南 Unknown	SH—SM	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tunu</i> , vol. 5, Hu 1-4597
1880/113	Anonymous Portrait 竹林讀書像	VICP, 120 x 53	In spring, the third month of the <i>gengchen</i> year, Guangxu, made by Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 光緒庚辰春三月山陰任頤伯年製	PC	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 41
1880/114	Zhong Kui 鍾馗圖	VICP	In summer, the fourth month of the <i>gengchen</i> year, Guangxu, Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒庚辰夏四月，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於春申浦上寓齋	PC; FC SP—TTC.	<i>Jen I's Paintings, 1840~1895</i> , ed. Chen Zongrui, Singapore, 1953, pl. 12.
1880/115	Zhong Kui in Red Ink 朱筆鍾馗	VRIP	The fifth day of the fifth month in the <i>gengchen</i> year, Guangxu. Painted by Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> . 光緒庚辰五月五日任頤伯年甫寫	TN—SYW	Unpublished
1880/116	Zhong Kui in Red Ink 朱筆鍾馗	VRIP, 134 x 66	The fifth day of the fifth month in the <i>gengchen</i> year, [I] painted six pictures of Zhong Kui. This is the fifth painting, writes Ren Yi. 庚辰五月五日寫終南進士像六幀，此其五也，任頤並記	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 1, p. 60 *Questionable. This picture has almost the same composition as the other “Zhong Kui” (dated 1880) collected in the Central Academy of Fine Art, Beijing. The brushwork is loose and wetter, which is similar to that of the other forged “Zhong Kui” (Undated) in Zheng Qiaozhi's collection, Singapore (no. 424 below). See Chapter 5, p. 189~191.

1880/117	Zhong Kui, imitating the method of Jin Nong 仿金農鍾璫圖	VRIP, 133.2 x 66.4	The fifth day of the fifth month in the <i>gengchen</i> year. Guangxu, [1] imitate Mr. Jin Dongxin (Jin Nong) who added rice-water from a Chan temple to the ink. Ren Yi. 光緒庚辰五月五日效金冬心先生用禪門米汁和墨寫之。任頤。	BJ—CAF	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 43
1880/118	Zhong Kui 鍾璫圖	VICP.	Unknown	SH—CTC	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 8-102
1880/119	Looking at the Waterfall 觀瀑圖	HICP, 37.5 x 143	Summer of the <i>gengchen</i> year, Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒庚辰荷夏，山陰任頤伯年甫	BJ—CAG	Wang Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part 1, p. 84
1880/120	Eight Immortals 八仙圖	4 VICPs	On an auspicious day of the ninth month, the <i>gengchen</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒庚辰九月吉日，山陰任頤伯年寫於海上寓齋 For Mr. Zhong's perusal. Bonian, The Taoist of Shanyin. 仲和仁兄先生教。山陰道人任伯年。 Bonian Ren Yi. 伯年任頤 Bonian Ren Yi painted in Shanghai. 伯年任頤寫於春申浦	PC. FC of SP—TTC.	<i>Jen I's Paintings, 1840-1895</i> , ed. Chen Zongrui, Singapore: Tan Tsze Chor, 1953, pls. 1-4.
1880/121	Three Auspicious Stars 華祝三多圖	VICP.	To celebrate the eightieth birthday of Mr. Yangqiao's father. Midwinter of the <i>gengchen</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 仰喬先生封翁大人開八榮慶。光緒庚辰仲冬之吉，伯年任頤寫於滬上寓次	TA—XZD	Unpublished
1880/122	Su Wu Herding Sheep	VICP, 149.5 x 81	The first day of the twelfth month, the year of <i>gengchen</i> ,	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei

	蘇武牧羊圖		Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> . 光緒庚辰嘉平吉旦，任頤伯年甫			meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 1, p. 59
1880/123	Emperor Taizong Making Judgment in Calligraphy 唐太宗評字圖	VICP	Unknown		NJ—ZCW	Unpublished
1880/124	Portrait of Zhang Yisan 張益三肖像	VICP, 28.5 x 39.6	[Painted] for Mr. Yisan's perusal in spring of the <i>gengchen</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒庚辰仲春似益三仁兄大人正之。山陰任頤伯年甫		BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 23
1880/125	Figure Painting 人物	V	On an auspicious day of the ninth month, <i>gengchen</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian painted this in Shanghai. 光緒庚辰九月吉日，山陰任頤伯年寫於海上寓齋	PC		
1880/126	Figure Painting 人物	FICS, D/ 25 .	In the twelfth month of the <i>gengchen</i> year, Guangxu. For Mr. Xingzhai's perusal. 光緒庚辰嘉平似省齋仁兄大人正之	GZ—PM		
1880/127	Lady 仕女	FICS.	In early autumn of the <i>gengchen</i> year. Imitating the brushwork of Chen Zhangho (Chen Hongshou). Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 光緒庚辰新秋法陳章侯筆，山陰任頤伯年	PC		<i>Ren Bonian xiaopin</i> , publisher not given, 1961, pl. 10. *British Library 15660.i.76
1880/128	Figures in a Bamboo Grove 竹林持扇人物和童子	FICP	On an auspicious day in summer, the <i>gengchen</i> year, Guangxu. Imitating the style of Yuhu Shanren (Gai Qi). 光緒庚辰夏吉日仿玉壺山人	SH—SAA		<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 4-11
1880/129	Searching for Plum Blossoms 尋梅圖	VICP, 174.5 x 48	[Painted] for Mr. Ruiche's perusal in early summer, the sixth month of the <i>gengchen</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 瑞臣仁兄大人雅屬希正，光緒庚辰夏六月上浣，山陰任	HK—LMK		<i>Mingjia Hanmo</i> , No. 28, 1992.5, Hong Kong, p. 78

			頤伯年甫			
1881						
1881/130	Fishing by the River 漁釣圖	VICP, 135 x 64.5	On an auspicious day of the third month, the <i>xinsi</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi painted at the south chamber of Biwuxuan, Shanghai. 光緒辛巳春三月吉日，寫於滬上碧梧軒南窗，伯年任頤	PC		Yinyan Duoying 藝苑蓀英, No. 10, p. 28.
1881/131	Portrait of Xu Bu 徐步像	ALJCP	Mr. Wuqing ordered this portrait. The third month, the <i>xinsi</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi 鑄卿仁兄大人屬圖。光緒辛巳三月伯年任頤	PC		Wang Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part I, p. 97
1881/132	Zhong Kui 鍾馗像	V	The fifth day of the fifth month, the <i>xinsi</i> year of Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi of Shanyin painted this picture of Zhong Kui with [ink mixed with] the rice water from a Chan temple, and recorded this at his residence in Shanghai. 光緒辛巳五月五日，山陰伯年任頤用禪門米汁寫終南進士像並記於滬上寓舍	PC		
1881/133	Washing Feet in Clear Water 清流濯足	VICP, 111 x 45.5	The water in mountains is clear and shallow. I [like to] dip my feet in it whenever I can. In response to Mr. Shanglin's request in the beginning of the seventh month, the <i>xinsi</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi. 山澗清且淺，遇以濯吾足。光緒辛巳七月朔以應商霖仁大兄命，伯年任頤	SH—SPA		China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 32
1881/134	The Weaving Maid 織女圖	VICP, 132 x 65	The granddaughter of the Heavenly Deity making an embroidered cloud-pattern garment. [Painted] on the day (seventh day of the seventh month) when Herd Boy and the Weaving Maid cross the river (the Milky Way), the <i>xinsi</i>	PC		Wang Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part I, p. 96

			year of Guangxu. Ren Bonian of Shanyin. 天孫爲織雲錦裳。光緒辛巳牛女渡河日寫。山陰任頤伯年			
1881/135	Figures after the Style of Chen Hongshou 法陳洪綬人物	VICP, 170 x 38.8.	In winter of the <i>xinsi</i> year, Guangxu. [Painted] after the style of Chen Zhanghou (Chen Hongshou). Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 光緒辛巳冬月法陳章侯。山陰任頤伯年	LN—LM		<i>Yiyuan Duoying</i> , No. 54, 1995. 6, pl. 7.
1881/136	Figure Paintings 人物 1. Herd boy and Buffaloes 岸綠牛肥 2. Composing Poems while Riding a donkey 驢 背得句 3. Hui Su Practising Calligraphy 懷素學書 4. Fishing at Fuchun River 富春垂釣	4 VICP, each 136.6 x 33	1. Rain falls mildly on the trees at the smoky riverbank; by the end of the spring, cow's grow fat. 雨疏煙岸綠，春膩棕牛肥 2. Composing poems while riding a donkey, [I] got a bag full of inspirations. 思詩在驢背，得句滿奚囊 3. Lutianan (Hui Su) practising calligraphy. [Painted] on a snowy day, winter of the <i>xinsi</i> year of Guangxu. 綠天盒學書，光緒辛巳嘉平雪窗 4. Portrait of Mr. Yan fishing at Fuchun River. [Painted] on a snowy day, winter of Guangxu. Yi. 嚴先生釣富春之像，光緒嘉平雪窗炙硯，頤	TJ—TAG		Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pls. 46–49
1881/137	Three Auspicious Stars under the: Pine Tree 松下三星圖	VICP.	Unknown	SH—SM		Unpublished
1881/138	Portrait of Wu Zhongying 吳仲英像	VICP, 121 x 65	Unsigned. Biographical note on Wu Zhongying by Zhu Jingyi 朱景彝.	BJ—CAG		Zheng Xiaoling & Dong Yue ed., <i>Ren Bonian renwu huafeng</i> , Sichan: Chongqing chubanshe, 1997, plate 54.
1881/139	Lady 仕女	FICP, 25 x 53	For Mr. Baosun's perusal. In spring, the second month of the	BJ—CAG		China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i>

				<i>xinsi</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi. 包孫仁兄大人雅正。 光緒辛巳春二月，伯年任頤			<i>jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 28
1881/140	Fisherman 漁父圖	VICP, 157.8 x 47.2		On an auspicious day of the ninth month, the <i>xinsi</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi painted this while living in Shanghai.	SH—SM		<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 5, Hu 1-4599
1881/141	Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊	FICP, 19 x 54.1		For Mr. Anmao's perusal. The blossoming season of the <i>xinsi</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi. 安茂仁兄大人雅正。光緒辛巳花朝伯年任頤	NJ—NM		China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 29
1881/142	Selling Meat 賣肉圖	VICP, 33 x 135		The eighth month of the <i>xinsi</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi. 光緒辛巳八月伯年任頤	BJ—ASC		<i>New Interpretation of Ming and Qing Painters</i> , Shanghai, 1994, pl. 72
1881/143	Wang Xizhi Watching Geese 羲之觀鵝	VICS.		Unknown	PH—PCM		Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 11, Zhe 13-35
1881/144	Playing Chess under a Pine 松下對奕	VICP		Unknown	SH—CTC		Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 8-104
1881/145	Figures under the Wutong 梧桐老少年	VICP		Unknown	SH—CTC		Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 8-105
1882							
1882/146	Wen Chang and Guan Yu 文昌關羽像	VICP, 137.5 x 68.5		Three days after the Lantern Festival, the first month of the <i>renwu</i> year. Ren Yi [painted with] clean hands. 壬午正月燈節後三日任頤盪手	SH—SM		<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 5, Hu 1-4600
1882/147	Kuixing (God of Literature) 魁星圖	VICP		[He is] no human being, for he came first [among the men of] letters in the examination] though using only one <i>dou</i> of his talent. The beginning of the second month, the year of	CU		<i>China nanhua dacheng</i> , Tokyo, 1935, vol. 7, p. 229.

			<i>renwu</i> , Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin painted with respect. 非人也，有一斗之才，為天下魁。光緒壬午二月上浣，山陰任頤敬繪			
1882/148	Portrait of [Wu Changshuo] having a midday nap in a Summer Garden 夏園午憩圖	VICP	I slightly imitate the idea in "The Portrait of Mr. Jin Dongxin" [by Luo Pin]. In spring, the third month of the year <i>renwu</i> , Bonian Ren Yi of Shanyin. 冬心先生有此本，略效此意，光緒壬午春三月，山陰伯年任頤	PC		Unpublished
1882/149	Lady and Child 仕女嬰戲	VICP, 129 x 67	For Mr. Muchen, please comment. The fifteenth day of the fifth month of <i>renwu</i> year. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 沐臣仁兄先生雅屬即希正之。壬午五月朔，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於春申浦上寓齋。	BJ—PM		<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 1, p. 61 *Questionable. The brushwork is similar to Ren Xia's.
1882/150	Xiaohong Sings and I (Jiang Baishi) Play the Flute 小紅低唱我吹簫	VICP, 184 x 45.5	The ninth month of the <i>renwu</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 光緒壬午九月，山陰任頤	BJ—CAG		China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 40
1882/151	Xiaohong Sings and I (Jiang Baishi) Play the Flute 小紅低唱我吹簫	VICP, 147.6 x 80.2	For Mr. Zi□'s perusal. The first auspicious day of the ninth month, the <i>renwu</i> year, Guangxu. Your junior brother Bonian Yi painted in Shanghai. 子□仁兄大人正之。光緒壬午九月初吉，伯年弟頤寫於春申浦上寓齋	PC		Sold for HK\$ 520,000 in November 1989, Sotheby's Hong Kong; <i>Mingjia Hamo</i> , No. 28, 1992. 5, p. 91
1882/152	Bodhisattva 大士像	VICGP.	Painted with respect by the Buddhist disciple Ren Yi. The fifth month of the <i>renwu</i> year, Guangxu. 佛弟子任頤敬寫，光緒壬午五月	HZ—ZCF		
1882/153	Fisherman 漁父圖	VICP,	In early autumn of the <i>renwu</i> year, Guangxu. [I] imitated the	SH—SM		Unpublished

		129.7 x 55.8	painting method of Min xiaozi (Min Zhen) in Shanghai. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> . 光緒壬午新秋仿效閔孝子畫法於春申浦上，任頤伯年甫			
1882/154	Man with a Caged Bird 玩鳥人像	ALJCP, 34.5 x 35.8	The beginning of the eighth month, the <i>renwu</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒壬午八月初，山陰任頤伯年甫	SH—SPA	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, p. 138	
1882/155	Looking at the Stream 溪山觀泉	VICP, 184 x 45.5	In autumn, the beginning of the ninth month, the <i>renwu</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒壬午秋九月初，山陰任頤伯年寫於海上	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 33	
1882/156	Buddha Amitayus 無量壽佛		Buddha Amitayus. The ninth day of the ninth month, the year of <i>renwu</i> , Guangxu. Painted by Ren Yi of Shanyin. 無量壽佛。光緒壬午重九山陰任頤寫	PC	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, p. 139	
1882/157	Mi Fu Paying Homage to the Rock 米顛拜石	VICP, 126 x 53	For Mr. Xiesun's perusal. Midwinter of the <i>renwu</i> year. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 櫛蓀仁兄大人雅屬即希正之。壬午仲冬，山陰任頤伯年甫	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 34	
1882/158	Wang Xizhi Watching Geese 羲之觀鵝	VICP	Unknown	SH—SM	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol.5, Hu 1-4603	
1882/159	Figure Paintings 人物故事 1. Fisherman 漁父圖 2. Xiaohong Sings and I (Jiang Baishi) Play the Flute 小紅低唱我吹 簫 3. The Three Chivalrous	4 VICP, 182.1 x 48.1	Summer of <i>renwu</i> year of Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi. 光緒壬午首夏伯年任頤	BJ—PM	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 53, 54.	

	Travellers 風塵三俠 4. Climbing the Mountain in the ninth month 九月登高					
1882/160	Figure Painting 人物	VICP, 132.2 x 65	In winter, the tenth month of the <i>renwu</i> year, Guangxu. Painted by Ren Yi Bonian fu of Shanyin. 光緒壬午冬十月，山陰任頤伯年甫寫	TA—CF	Unpublished	
1882/161	Zhong Kui Holding a Broken Fan 破扇鍾馗	VICP, 104 x 33.2	The fifth day of the fifth month, the <i>renwu</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian fu of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒壬午五月五日山陰任頤伯年甫寫於春申浦上寓齋	BJ—CAF	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 63	
1882/162	Huang the Immortal 黃大仙	VICP, 128 x 66.5	For Mr. Bichen's perusal. Three days after the Moon Festival [the fifteenth day of the eighth month]. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 璧城仁兄大人雅屬，壬午中秋後三日。山陰任頤	PC	<i>Mingjia Hanmo</i> , No. 28, 1992.5, p. 17	
1882/163	Flower-and-Bird and Figure Paintings 人物花鳥冊	12 ALICP, 31.5 x 36	Summer, the sixth month of the <i>renwu</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi. 光緒壬午夏六月，伯年任頤	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 1, p. 138 ~143	
1883						
1883/164	Sending Charcoal to the Poor 送炭圖	VICP, 80.8 x 36.8	The first day of the <i>guiwei</i> year, Guangxu. [I] try out a brush made of goat hair. Ren Yi. 光緒癸未元日，試羊毫筆率爾。任頤	BJ—PM	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part I, p. 145	
1883/165	Portrait of the Governor of Wuqing (Portrait of Wu Changshuo) 蕪青亭長像	VIP, 125 x 39.8	Portrait of the Governor of Wuqing at the age of forty. In the third month, the spring of the <i>guiwei</i> year, brother Ren Yi of Shanyin painted this at the Thatched Hall of Yiyi. 蕪青亭長四十歲小影。癸未春三月山陰弟任頤寫於頤頤	AJ—WMG	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tunu</i> , vol. 11, Zhe 17-01	

			草堂		
1883/166	Seeking Inspiration for Poetry in the Autumn Poetry in the Autumn Wood 秋林覓句圖	VICP.	Seeking Inspirations for Poetry in the Autumn Woods. Imitating [the composition of] Xinluo Shanren [Hua Yan]. The sixth month of <i>guiwei</i> year. Bonian wiping away sweat. 秋林覓句。仿新羅山人。癸未六月伯年揮汗	BJ—CAF	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988, p. 22
1883/167	Elderly Man under the Pine Tree 松下老人	VICP, 134.5 x 65	The kerchief and shoes of the old man under the pine are the same. Sitting alone, he surely is an old man of Mount Shang. In the sixth month of the summer of <i>guiwei</i> year, Guangxu. [I] copied this picture from Mr. [Ren] Weichang (Ren Xiong). Noted by Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 松下老人巾履同，獨坐自是高山翁，光緒癸未夏六月，臨渭長先生。山陰任頤伯年並記	BJ—CAF	<i>New Interpretation of Ming and Qing Painters</i> , Shanghai, 1994, pl. 70
1883/168	Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊	VICP, 148 x 83.5	After the fifteenth day of the eighth month, the <i>guiwei</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted in Shanghai. 光緒癸未八月望後，山陰伯年甫於海上寓齋	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 41
1883/169	Portrait of Zhao Xiaoyun 趙嘯雲像	VICP, 136.7 x 64	Portrait of Mr. Xiaoyun, the elder uncle. The tenth month of <i>guiwei</i> year of Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi. 嘯雲老伯大人像。光緒癸未十月伯年任頤	HZ—ZPM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 2, p. 166
1883/170	Carrying a Qin to Visit a Friend 攜琴訪友	FICS, 28 x 27.6	For Mr. Xiangfu's perusal. The seventh month of <i>guiwei</i> year of Guangxu, Ren Yi of Shanyin. 祥甫兄大人正。光緒癸未七月，山陰任頤	NJ—NM	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 69
1883/171	Figure Painting 人物		The fourth month of <i>guiwei</i> year, Guangxu. Painted by Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 光緒癸未四月，山陰任頤伯年寫	HZ—ZCF	Unpublished
1883/172	Figure Painting 人物	FICS	For Mr. Yueshan's perusal. Brother Bonian Ren Yi of Shanyin. 越曼先生法正之，山陰任頤弟伯年	BJ—LXA	

1883/173	Hanshan and Shide 寒山拾得	VICP, 157.5 x 90.4	The fifth month of <i>guiwei</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 光緒癸未五月，山陰任頤伯年。	TA—NPM	<i>Spirit Resonance: Chinese and Western Painting Styles in the Late Nineteenth Century</i> , Taipei: National Palace Museum, p. 89
1883/174	Figures and a White Deer under the Pine Tree 白鹿貞松	VICP, 238.7 x 119	In autumn, the ninth month of <i>guiwei</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒癸未秋九月，山陰任頤伯年甫。	AH—APM	Jia Dejiang ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 2001, pl. 1
1883/175	Congratulations on Official Promotion 加官晉爵	VICP	On New Year's eve of <i>guiwei</i> , Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi recorded this in candlelight in Shanghai. 光緒癸未除夕剪燭伯年任頤記於春申寓齋	HZ—ZPM	*Questionable, see Chapter 5, p. 185
1883/176	Heavenly Deity 天宮圖	VICP, 174.5 x 85.5	After the fifteenth day of the twelfth month, the <i>guiwei</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> painted this in Shanghai. 光緒癸未嘉望後山陰任頤伯年甫寫於海上寓齋	HB—HPM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tunu</i> , vol. 8, Ji 1-263
1883/177	Looking at the Deserted Land Solemnly 關河一望蕭索	HICP, 38 x 63	For Mr. Xianting's perusal. The second month of <i>guiwei</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi. 顯廷仁兄先生雅屬。光緒癸未二月，任頤。	TJ—TPP	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 73
1883/178	Boating in the Clear Stream 清溪遊艇	FICP, 18 x 52	For Mr. Heqin's perusal. The beginning of the fourth month of <i>guiwei</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian painted this in Shanghai. 鶴琴仁兄雅正。光緒癸未四月上浣，山陰任頤伯年寫於滬上	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 84
1883/179	Zhong Kui Wearing a Flower 簪花鍾馗	VICP	In a summer day of the year of <i>guiwei</i> , Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai.	NY—MMA	*Questionable, see Chapter 5, p. 187-189.

			光緒癸未夏日山陰伯年任頤寫於滬上寓齋			
1883/180	Guanyin Bringing a Child 送子觀音	VICS, 80 x 34	The first month of <i>guinwei</i> year of Guangxu, the disciple Ren Yi of Shanyin respectfully made a picture of [Guanyin] Dashi. 光緒癸未正月敬造大士像一區，山陰弟子任頤合十	TJ—TAG	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 71. *Questionable, see Chapter 5, p. 182~184.	
1883/181	Guanyin Bringing a Child 送子觀音	VICS	The first month of <i>guinwei</i> year of Guangxu, the disciple Ren Yi of Shanyin respectfully made a picture of [Guanyin] Dashi. 光緒癸未正月敬造大士像一區，山陰弟子任頤合十	SH—CSF	*Questionable, see Chapter 5, p. 182~184. This picture has the same composition as the Tianjin picture (No. 1883/180). In the left corner, it has an additional collector's seal "Shifa cang Bonian xiaopin 十髮藏伯年小品".	
1884						
1884/182	Three Friends. 三友圖	VICP, 63.5 x 36.1	The two brothers [Zhu] Jintang and [Zeng] Fengyi instruct me to paint a portrait. They allow me to sit with them and call us "Three Friends". I am so fortunate. I am so fortunate indeed. 錦堂、風沂兩兄囑頤寫照，更許在座，謂之三友，幸甚幸甚。 Inscription also by Zhong Dexiang 鍾德祥。	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 1, p. 52	
1884/183	Portrait of Lu Shucheng 陸書城像	VICP, 120.3 X 50.6	For my cousin, Mr. [Lu] Shucheng (1838--?), who asked for a portrait from me while stopping by in Shanghai on his way to the south after seeing the emperor for the fifth time. At this time he was 47 <i>sui</i> . Younger brother Bonian Ren Yi noted this in Shanghai.	HZ—ZPM	Additional colophons by Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙, Gu Sen 顧森 and Yu Kaizhi 虞澐之	

1884/184	A Lady Figure Standing under Wutong Tree 桐蔭仕女	VICP, 120 x 40	書誠姻兄大人甲申夏五入觀南旋，路出於滬，索余寫照，時年四十七歲矣。伯年弟任頤並誌於滬上客次。	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian jingpin ji</i> , Beijing, 1996, pl. 42
1884/185	Mi Fu Paying Homage to a Rock 米芾拜石圖	FICP.	An auspicious day of the beginning of the eighth month, the year of <i>jiashen</i> of Guangxu. Ordered by Mr. Tizhai, please comment. Painted by Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒甲申秋八月初吉。惕齋仁兄大人雅屬即正，山陰任頤伯年甫寫	PC	Takeyoshi Tsuruta, <i>Modern Chinese Painting</i> , Tokyo, 1974, pl. 50.
1884/186	Lady among Plum Blossoms 梅花仕女圖	VICP, 96 x 42.6	The beginning of winter of the <i>jiashen</i> year, Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 光緒甲申初冬伯年任頤寫於春申浦上寓齋 Also Inscription by Zhu Xiaozang 朱孝臧 and Pan Lanshi 潘蘭史題跋	LN—LM	<i>Yiyuan Duoying</i> , No. 54, 1995.6, Shanghai, pl. 18
1884/187	Conersing in the Pine Woods 松下策杖	VICP, 135.1 x 64.6	For Mr. Liansheng. The fourth month of <i>jiashen</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 蓮生仁兄大人雅屬，光緒甲申四月山陰任頤	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 1, p. 62
1884/188	Sitting under the Pine Tree 松下靜坐	VICP, 178.8 x 57	Ordered by Mr. Yanchun. In spring, the first month of <i>jiashen</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 燕春方伯大人雅屬。光緒甲申春正月，山陰任頤伯年寫於春申浦上寓齋	TA—NPM	<i>Shijiu shiji moqi zhongxi huafeng de gantong</i> . Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1993, p. 90

1884/189	Herding Sheep 牧羊	VICP	Ordered by Mr. Mengzhan, please comment. In summer, the fourth month of <i>jiashen</i> year, Ren Yi Bonian fu of Shanyin. 夢占仁兄大人雅屬似正。甲申夏四月，山陰任頤伯年甫	CU	China nanhua dacheng, Tokyo, 1935, vol. 7, p. 230.
1884/190	Figure 人物圖	FICP	For Mr. Jun'ai, the third brother. Please comment. On a summer afternoon of the <i>jiashen</i> year. Bonian Yi. 俊崖仁三兄正之。甲申夏午伯年頤	GZ—PM	
1884/191	Lady 仕女圖	VICP, 130.5 x 45.2	For Mr. Chushan's perusal. After the fifteenth day of the eleventh month, winter of the <i>jiashen</i> year of Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 初山仁兄大人雅正。光緒甲申冬十一月望後，伯年任頤寫於滬上寓齋	BJ—CAF	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 80.
1884/192	Heavenly Deity 天官	VICP	Unknown	TJ—TPP	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 8, Jin 4-40
1884/193	Reading on a Bridge 橋上讀書	VICS.	Unknown	JL—PM	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 16, Ji 1-273
1885					
1885/194	Portrait of Mr. Yuelou in Coarse Cloth to Dispel the Summer Heat Summer Heat 月樓先生褐衣銷夏圖	VICP.	Mr. Yuelou dressed in Coarse Cloth to Dispel the Summer Heat. In sweltering summer weather of <i>yiyou</i> year. Ren Bonian painted this while wiping away the sweat. 月樓先生褐衣銷夏。乙酉大暑節任伯年揮汗爲之寫	CU	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part I, p. 223
1885/195	Portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Zhao Dechang 趙德昌夫婦像	VICP, 148 x 80,	Portrait of grandfather Zhao Dechang and grandmother Wei. The first month of <i>yiyou</i> year, Guangxu. Painted by Ren Yi, the grandson-in-law. 外祖德昌趙公暨祖妣魏太孀人之像，光緒乙酉歲正月孫婿任頤繪	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, pl. 6.

1885/196	Album of Bird-and-Flower and Figure Paintings 花鳥人物絹冊	10 ALICS	The beginning of of warm days, summer of <i>yiyou</i> year of Guangxu. [1] recorded this while wiping at the southern window. The Daoist passer of Shanyin. Yi. 光緒乙酉伏暑初酷，南窗揮汗記。山陰道上行者，頤	BJ—PM	
1885/197	Album of Bird-and-Flower and Figure Paintings 人物花鳥冊	12 ALICP, 35 x 35.3	The <i>yiyou</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 光緒乙酉山陰任頤	SH—SM	Unpublished
1885/198	Mi Fu Paying Homage to a Rock 米芾拜石圖	VICP.	The beginning of summer of <i>yiyou</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒乙酉首夏山陰任頤伯年寫于春申浦寓齋	NP—ZAPS	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol.. 11, Zhe 34-03
1885/199	Sitting Alone in a Bamboo Grove 竹林獨坐	VICS.	Unknown	SZ—LT	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol.. 6, Su 2-43
1885/200	Sitting Alone Under the Pine Tree 松下獨坐	VICP	Unknown	SH—CTC	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol.12, Hu 8-112.
1885/201	Figure Under the Cordoba Tree 桐蔭清暑	VICP	Unknown	CZ—CM	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol.. 6, Su 15-45
1885/202	Wang Chuzhong Striking the <i>Hu</i> . 王處仲擊壺圖	VICP.	Each time after drinking Wang Chuzhong would sing [the poem]: "An old steed hidden in the stable still aspires to gallop a thousand <i>li</i> . A hero in his autumn years still has a soaring aspiration and ambition to achieve heroic deeds." The mouth of the <i>hu</i> [a wine vessel] was broken when it was struck by Wang with a <i>ruyi</i> [while singing the poem]. The great general Wang hit the <i>hu</i> with a <i>ruyi</i> and sang <i>yuefu</i> in the fashion of the Weiwu court. [He was] so chivalrous and vigorous that I should show my appreciation after	Tianyige 天一閣, Ningpo	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huajji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part 1, p. 216

			reading his story. For enjoyment of Mr. Yuanqiao. In the heat of summer, the sixth month of <i>yiyou</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 王處仲每酒後輒詠：「老驥伏櫪，志在千里，烈士暮年，壯志不已。」以如意打唾壺，壺口盡缺。 王大將軍以如意擊壺，唱魏武樂府，豪爽勃然，余讀之亦當伏白。阮樵仁兄先生雅賞，光緒乙酉夏六月大暑，山陰任頤。		
1885/203	Study by the Glare of Snow 映雪讀書圖	VICP.	There have been determined learners who studied by the glare of caged glowworms, moonbeams or snow. In the heat of summer of <i>yiyou</i> year, Guangxu. For Mr. Yuanqiao's perusal. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 讀書有囊螢，有邇月，有映雪，皆憤學也。光緒乙酉夏大暑似阮樵仁兄大雅清鑒，山陰任頤。	TN—SYW	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part I, p. 224
1885/204	Looking at the Deserted Landscape 關河一望蕭索	VICP, 131.3 x 31.7	Looking at the solemn and deserted landscape. In summer, the sixth month of <i>yiyou</i> year of Guangxu, [I] painted this and wiping away my sweat [at the same time]. This painting is posted to Brother Yuanqiao to decorate his wall. Ren Yi, [your] brother of Shanyin, is staying in Shanghai as a guest at present. 關河一望蕭索。光緒乙酉夏六月揮汗寫此，郵寄阮樵仁兄補壁。山陰弟任頤時客滬上	NJ—NM	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 81
1885/205	Looking at the Deserted Landscape 關河一望蕭索	FGIBS.	Looking at the solemn and deserted landscape. My uncle Weichang [Ren Xiong] had painted this before. [I] memorised his idea and imitated [the image]. This is for brother Xingqing's perusal. Recorded by Ren Yi of Shanyin.	SZ—SCW	

1885/206	Looking at the Deserted Landscape 關河一望蕭索	ALICP	關河一望蕭索。余叔渭長有此，背摹其意，以奉星卿仁弟雅鑒，山陰任頤並記	CU	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 226
1885/207	Figure Painting 人物	ALICP	Looking at the solemn and deserted landscape. This is a Tang phrase. I have deep feelings for this [epigram] therefore I often painted it. In midwinter of <i>yiyou</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 關河一望蕭索。唐人警句也。有感於斯，常繪其圖。光緒乙酉仲冬，山陰任頤伯年。」 The brushwork of Xinluo Shanren (Hua Yan) is like Lady Gongsun's sword dancing which was so free and unrestricted, fluent and precise, that none of the contemporary could compete with her. [However] it is ridiculous to see people nowadays trying to imitate Hua Yan as soon as they pick up their brush [in their early stage of learning painting]. Summer of <i>yiyou</i> year, Bonian. 新羅山人用筆，如公孫氏舞劍器渾脫，瀏漓頓挫，一時莫與爭風。今人才一拈毫，輒仿新羅，益可笑焉！已酉夏伯年	CU	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part I, 217
1885/208	Leaning on a Rock by River 倚石人物	ALICP	To rinse one's mouth in streams and pillow one's head on rocks [i.e: to retire from the world]. Bonian. 漱石枕流。伯年。	CU	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part I, 218
1885/209	Boating 行舟	ALICP	I call myself "Master of the West Lake". The year of <i>yiyou</i> of Guangxu, Ren Yi of Shanyin. 此生自號西湖長。光緒乙酉山陰任頤。	CU	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part I, 220
1885/210	Sending Charcoal to the	VICP.	[Painted this] with affection while residing in the west	BJ—PM	

	Poor 雪中送炭圖		chamber of Guxiangshi [fan shop] in the twelfth month of <i>yiyou</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 光緒乙酉嘉平住古香西樓有感，山陰任頤				
1885/211	Washing Feet in Clear Water 清溪濯足	VICP.	Twelfth month of the <i>yiyou</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒乙酉嘉平月，山陰任頤寫於滬上	BJ—PM		Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 229	
1885/212	Composing Poems While Riding a Donkey 驢背敲詩圖	ALJCP, 34.5 x 34.5	Secretary Jia [Jia Dao] composing a poem while riding a donkey. The twelfth month of <i>yiyou</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi. 賈舍人驢背敲詩。光緒乙酉嘉平，任頤。	BJ—PM		Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 230	
1885/213	Yan Lugong (Yan Zhenqing) Writing Sutra 顏魯公寫經圖	Unknown	Unknown	CU		Unpublished.	
1885/214	Liu Hai 劉海像	VICP	Unknown	HZ—ZPM		Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 11, Zhe 1-758	
1885/215	Magu and God of Longevity 麻姑壽星	VICP, 148 x 79.7	On an auspicious day of the beginning of winter, <i>yiyou</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒乙酉孟冬之吉山陰任頤伯年甫寫於春申浦上寓齋	TJ—TPP		<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 8, Jin 4-40	
1885/216	Picking Plum Blossoms 折梅圖	VICP, 129.2 x 63.7	For Mr. Xinsheng's perusal. At Midwinter of <i>yiyou</i> year. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 新生仁兄大人雅屬。乙酉仲冬山陰任頤伯年甫	PC		Sold for HK\$ 220,000 in November 1990, at Sotheby's Hong Kong; <i>Mingjia Hainan</i> , No. 28, 1992. 5, p. 90	
1885/217	Figure in Landscape 山水人物	VICP	For Mr. Mengzhan's perusal. In summer, the fifth month of <i>yiyou</i> year, Guangxu. 夢占先生大人之屬。光緒乙酉夏五月	BJ—RBZ		Tang Hui ed., <i>Rongbaozhai huapu</i> , Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1996, p. 48	

1885/218	Herding Ducks in a Pond 漁塘放鴨	ALLCP.	In summer, the sixth month of <i>yíyou</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fū</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒乙酉夏六月，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於海上	CU	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part 1, p. 221
1885/219	Figure Painting 人物		Luo Liangfeng [Luo Pin] had a picture entitled "Spring Outing". I followed his brushwork [in my painting]. This is for enjoyment of Mr. Yun□. Autumn, the eighth month of <i>yíyou</i> year. Ren Yi. 羅兩峰有春郊圖，師其用筆，以奉雲□仁兄雅賞。乙酉秋八月上浣，任頤	CU	
1885/220	Figure Painting 人物	V.	For the enjoyment of Mr. Zihé, the Magistrate. Early autumn of <i>yíyou</i> year, Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 子和仁兄太守大人雅正。乙酉新秋，山陰任頤伯年	GZ—PM	
1885/221	Figures, Flowers and birds 人物花鳥合冊	ALICS	Unknown	PC	Sold for HK\$680,000 in May 1988 by Sotheby's Hong Kong; <i>Mingjia Hammo</i> , No. 27, (1992.4), p.117
1885/222	Listening [to Cicadas] in Autumn 秋聲賦	KIP, 28 x 18	Ideas [adopted from] Ouyang Xiu's prose poem "Listening [to cicadas] in autumn". The second month of <i>yíyou</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Bonian. 歐陽子秋聲賦意，光緒乙酉二月任伯年	BJ—CAG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 45
1885/223	Offering Incense to Heaven 焚香誥天	VICP	Offering incense to Heaven. Early spring of <i>yíyou</i> year of Guangxu. Bonian. 焚香誥天，光緒乙酉初春，山陰任頤伯年	BJ—CAG	<i>China nanhua dacheng</i> , Tokyo, 1935, vol. 7, p. 231.
1885/224	Offering Incense to Heaven 焚香誥天	KIP, 28 x 18	Offering incense to Heaven. The second month of <i>yíyou</i> year of Guangxu. Bonian. 焚香誥天，光緒乙酉二月伯年	BJ—CAG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 55

1885/225	Losing Hat on Mount Long Long 白描龍山落帽	KIP, 28 x 18	Losing hat on Mount Long. Bonian. 龍山落帽。伯年	BJ—CAG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 49
1885/226	Han Xin Receiving an Insult Han Xin 白描能出跨下	KIP, 28 x 18	In the <i>Shiji</i> (Records of the Historian), the boy from Huaiyin insulted Han Xin and said: "If you are capable, stab me; if you are not capable, then cross through between my legs". Xin looked at the person for a while, then crossed through between the legs of the boy. The second month of <i>yiyou</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 史記淮陰少年侮韓信，曰：「能，刺我，不能，出我胯下。」於是，信熟視之，俯出跨下。光緒乙酉二月，山陰任頤伯年。	BJ—CAG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 50
1885/227	Playing String Music at Mt. Dong (Sketch) 白描東山絲竹	KIP, 28 x 18	Bonia. 伯年	BJ—CAG	
1885/228	Travel Sketch 白描記游畫稿	KIP, 28 x 18	Recently the fragrant carts drawn by expensive horses race swiftly outside the west countryside. On a crude carriage led by an inferior horse, I also take my two sons for a pretended juvenile ride. [I] compose this painting to record it. Bonian. 近日西郊外香車寶馬正馳驟，余也率二子柴車劣馬學個少年遊。作畫報之伯年	BJ—CAG	
1885/229	Piao-Mu Giving food to Han Xin (Sketch) 白描漂母食飯	KIP, 28 x 18	In the <i>Shiji</i> , Han Xin went fishing [by the river] beneath the city wall of Huaiyin, and begged [for food] from Piao Mu. Mu fed him for many days. Xin then said to Mu: "I will pay you back much more [one day]." Mu replied angrily:	BJ—CAG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 48

1885/230	Lady Gongsun Dancing with Two Swords (Sketch) 白描公孫大娘舞劍	KIP, 28 x 18	<p>"Cannot a true gentleman pay for food himself? I gave you food for my own sympathy for descendants of old imperial family. I did not ask you to pay back!" Ren Bonian noted in the second month of <i>yiyou</i> year, Guangxu.</p> <p>史記韓信釣淮陰城下，乞食於漂母。母與之飯，竟數十日。信謂之曰：「吾必重報。」母怒曰：「大丈夫不能自食？吾哀王孫而進食，豈望報乎！」光緒乙酉二月任伯年。</p> <p>The brushwork of Xinluo Shanren (Hua Yan) is like Lady Gongsun's sword dancing which was free and unrestricted, fluent and precise, so that none of her contemporaries could compete with her. [However] it is ridiculous to see people now-a-days trying to imitate Hua Yan as soon as they pick up their brush [in their early stage of learning painting].</p> <p>Summer of <i>yiyou</i> year, Bonian.</p> <p>新羅山人用筆，如公孫氏舞劍器渾脫，瀏漓頓挫，一時莫與爭風。今人才一拈毫，輒仿新羅，益可笑焉！已酉夏伯年</p>	BJ—CAG	
1885/231	Landscape after a poem by the ruler of Shu (Sketch) 白描蜀主詞意	KJP, 28 x 18	<p>Two days after the first eve of the New Year of Guangxu. [I] appended the prose-poem of the ruler of Shu here. Yi.</p> <p>光緒元夜後二日作，此并錄蜀主詞，頌。</p>	BJ—CAG	Ren Bonian <i>jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 56
1885/232	Sending charcoal to the Poor 雪中送炭	VICP, 138.5 x 68.5	<p>An auspicious day of the beginning of the winter, <i>yiyou</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai.</p> <p>光緒乙酉孟冬之吉，山陰任頤伯年寫於海上萬齋</p>	SH—SM	<p><i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i>, vol. 5, Hu 1-4607</p> <p>*Considered as a forgery by the Editors of <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i>, vol. 5, Hu 1-4607</p>

1886						
1886/233	Female Immortal with a Peacock 女仙圖	V.		The first month of <i>bingxu</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒丙戌正月。山陰任頤伯年甫。	CU	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 231
1886/234	Su Dong-Po Playing with the Ink-stone 東坡玩硯	VICP, 131 x 45		Ordered by Mr. Hushan, the third brother. Spring, the third month of <i>bingxu</i> year of Guangxu. After the brushwork of Chen Zhanghou [Chen Hongshou]. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 鵲山三兄大人雅屬。光緒丙戌春三月，法陳章侯筆，山陰任頤	BJ—XMG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 59.
1886/235	Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊	FICS		For Mr. Yunfu, the second brother and elder of the society. In the long summer of <i>bingxu</i> year, Guangxu, we both lived in Shanghai. Recorded by Yi. 蘊父二哥大人社長之教，光緒丙戌長夏同客春申浦，頤記	CU	
1886/236	Seeking Poetic Inspiration under the Pine Tree 松下覓句	VICP		In summer, the sixth month of <i>bingxu</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒丙戌夏六月，山陰任頤伯年寫於海上	BJ—LXA	
1886/237	Riding on the Cloud-Capping Mountain 雲山策馬	VICP, 135.5 x 65		After seeing this painting, Brother Aiting immediately showed his appreciation. Therefore, I gave it to him and ask for comment. Ren Yi. 竊庭仁兄見而謬賞。即贈之就正。任頤	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 1, 65
1886/238	Listening to the Qin 聽琴圖	HICP, 77 x 142		Ordered by Mr. Zifeng, please comment. The last day of the end of summer, <i>bingxu</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin recorded this at the Thatched Hall of Yiyi in Guzhuwecheng [Shanghai]. 紫封仁兄先生大雅之屬，即是就正。光緒丙戌夏至後一	NT—NM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol.6, Su 8-278

				日，山陰任頤並記於古築耶城之頤頤草堂		
1886/239	Looking at the Stream in the Mountain 梁山觀泉	VICP		Ordered by Mr. Dahu. Early autumn of <i>bingxu</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 大湖仁兄大人雅屬。光緒丙戌新秋，山陰任頤伯年甫	BJ—CAG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 61
1886/240	Figure with a Crane under a Plum Tree 梅妻鶴子	VICP		Ordered by Mr. Tingyi. One day before the mid-autumn Festival of <i>bingxu</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 聽彝仁兄大雅之屬。光緒丙戌中秋前一日，山陰任頤伯年甫	BJ—CAG	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 244
1886/241	Night Travelling at Cheng-tian Temple 承天夜遊	VICP, 177 x 48		Mid-autumn Festival of <i>bingxu</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒丙戌中秋節，山陰任頤伯年甫	BJ—CAG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 57
1886/242	Xiaohong Sings and I (Jiang Baishi) Play the Flute 小紅低唱我吹簫			After the prose poem of Jiang Baishi. A day after the mid-autumn Festival of <i>bingxu</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 姜白石詞意。光緒丙戌中秋後一日，山陰任頤伯年甫	CU	
1886/243	Asking for the Way to Taoyuan [Utopia of Peach Blossom] 桃源問津圖	VICP, 178 x 47.5		Two days after the Midautumn Festival of <i>bingxu</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒丙戌中秋後二日，山陰任頤伯年甫	BJ—CAG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 58
1886/244	Looking at Heaven Hungrily 饑看天圖	VICP		Looking at Heaven Hungrily. Mr. Cangshuo citing the poem. The eleventh month of <i>bingxu</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 饑看天圖。倉碩先生吟壇行看子，光緒丙戌十一月山陰任頤	HZ—SY	Additional colophons by Yang Xian 楊硯 and Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩。 This portrait was also engraved on stone, and displayed in Siling Yinshe, Hangzhou later on.
1886/245	隔簾仕女圖 (梅花仕女)	VICP, 177 x 44		After the fifteenth day of the twelfth month, <i>bingxu</i> year of	SH—DYX	<i>Haipai huihua chuanji</i> , Shanghai:

				Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in candlelight and a window-view of snow. 光緒丙戌嘉平望後雪窗翦燭山陰任頤伯年甫 Xu Gu also wrote the colophon adopted from Gao Yong's poem.		shuhua chubanshe, 2000, vol. 1, plate 159.
1886/246	Walking in the Mountains 山行	ALICP		Brother Ziqiao ordered this painting. The <i>bingxu</i> year of Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi. 子樵仁弟索畫。光緒丙戌伯年任頤	CU	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 253
1886/247	Sending charcoal to the Poor 送炭	VICP.		An auspicious day of the mid-autumn of <i>bingxu</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒丙戌仲秋吉日·山陰任頤伯年甫	CU (former collection of SP—TTC)	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 249
1886/248	Figure Painting 人物	FICS.		Yangqing. The fourth month of <i>bingxu</i> year, Guangxu. 昂青。光緒丙戌四月	SZ—SCM	Unpublished
1886/249	Album of Lady and Flowers 仕女花鳥冊	2 FICS, 26.5 x 27.		For Mr. Xiaoshi's perusal. Bonian Ren Yi. 小石仁兄大人正之·伯年任頤	TJ—TAG	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua</i> tumu, vol. 8, Jin 7-1821.
1886/250	Riding 吟鞭	AICP.		Ordered by Mr. Boyi. Winter of the <i>bingxu</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 柏葵仁兄大雅之屬。光緒丙戌冬月·山陰任頤。	CU (former collection of SP—TTC)	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 251
1886/251	Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠	VICP		Unknown	SH—CTC	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 8-115
1886/252	Congratulations on Official Promotion 加官晉爵圖	VICP		Unknown	JL—PM	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 16, Ji 1-274
1886/253	Three Immortals 三仙圖	VICP, 249.5 x 118		Winter of <i>bingxu</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> painted	TJ—TAG	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren</i>

			this at Qiezu Studio in Shanghai. 光緒丙戌冬月山陰任頤伯年甫寫滬城且住之室		Bonian, Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 99
1887				BJ—PM	<i>Haishang huihua chuanji</i> , Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 2001, vol. 1, p. 173
1887/254	Portrait of Gao Yongzhi as a Beggar 高邕之書丐圖小像	VICP, 130.7 x 65.3	Unsigned. Recorded by Xu Gu: Shanyin Ren Yi painted this portrait and Xu Gu wrote the inscription on the eighth day of the first month, the thirteenth year of Guangxu. 山陰任頤作圖虛谷題。時光緒十三年正月八日也		
1887/255	Portrait of Mr. Jishi Feeling Self-Pity at Mirror 吉石先生顧影自憐圖	VICP	Ren Yi Bonian fu of Shanyin painted this for [Jishi], while both of us were living in Shanghai on the twentieth day of the first month, <i>dinghai</i> year, Guangxu. 山陰任頤伯年甫爲之寫。光緒丁亥正月廿日同客海上	BJ—RBZ	Tang Hui ed., <i>Rongbaozhai huapu</i> , Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1996, p. 48
1887/256	Portrait of Xu Gu 虛谷像	VICP	Unsigned Inscription by Gao Yong: Xu Gu asked Bonian to paint a portrait of him at the age of sixty-five. [Xu] then left this portrait in Little Hall of Leisure, the residence of Gao family from Renhe. Recorded [by Gao Yong] in the second month of the thirteenth year of Guangxu (1887). 虛谷倩伯年畫六十五歲像，留於仁和高氏小逍遙館。光緒十三年二月記。	PC	Sold for HK\$ 120,000 in February 1984, Sotheby's Hong Kong: <i>Mingjia Hammo</i> , No. 27, 1992.4, p. 113.
1887/257	Two Children Playing with Crackers 雙童鬥蟋蟀	VICP, 176 x 47	Ordered by Mr. Zhengqing, the head of city guards. The twentieth day of the first month, the year of <i>dinghai</i> , Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin.	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, pl. 12.

			正卿總城大人之屬。光緒丁亥正月二十日・山陰任頤伯年			
1887/258	Listening to String Music in Mt. Dong 東山絲竹圖	VICP.	Ordered by Mr. Yuting. At the beginning of summer, the <i>dinghai</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shan wiped away the sweat and painted this. 雨亭仁兄先生大雅之屬。光緒丁亥夏孟山陰任頤揮汗爲之寫	BJ—PM		
1887/259	Shooting Pheasants 射雉圖	VICP.	Shooting Pheasants, after [a picture by] Xinluo Shanren [Hua Yan]. [Hua's painting] is in the collection of the Master of Thatched Hall of Two Rains of Siming [Chen Yan'an, native of Ningpo]. In the beginning of summer of <i>dinghai</i> year, Guangxu. Recorded by Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 射雉圖，師新羅山人。是本四明二雨草堂主人所藏。光緒丁亥首夏山陰任頤伯年並記	PC (former collection of SP—TTC)	Chen Zongrui ed., <i>Jen I's Paintings, 1840-1895</i> , Singapore: Tan Tsze Chor, 1953, pl. 13	
1887/260	Portrait of Wu Changshuo Enjoying the Cool Shade Under the Palm Tree 吳昌碩 碩陰蔭納涼	VICP.	The image of Jin Dongxin (Jin Nong) in his noon nap by Luo Liangfeng (Luo Pin) possesses an ancient flavour, and I have copied it several times. Now I copy this painting again for my old friend Cangshi (Wu Changshuo). The sixth month of <i>dinghai</i> year of Guangxu, recorded Bonian Ren Yi. 羅兩峰爲金冬心畫午睡圖饒有古趣，余曾手臨數過，今爲倉石老友再臨其意。光緒丁亥六月伯年任頤記。	Wu Changshuo Family	Additional inscription by Yang Xian 楊峴。	
1887/261	Liu Hai 劉海像	VICP.	Four days after the beginning of autumn (normally the eighth or ninth day of the eighth month in the lunar calendar), the <i>dinghai</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin.	HZ—ZPM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 11, Zhe 1-758	

1887/262	Portrait of Chen Zizhen. 陳子振像	VICP	光緒丁亥立秋後四日，山陰任頤伯年甫	Unknown	TN—SYW	Unpublished.
1887/263	Album of Figure Painting 人物故事八開	8 ALICP	Unknown	Unknown	SH—SAA	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 4-14, plate unpublished.
1887/264	Fishing on a Boat 松溪漁艇	VICP.	Unknown	Unknown	TJ—TCW	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 8, Jin 6-168
1887/265	Figure Paintings 人物故事四條	4 VICP	Unknown	Unknown	TJ—TPP	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 8, Jin 4-46
1887/266	Composing a Poem While Riding a Donkey 驢背思 詩	VICP.	Unknown	Unknown	BJ—CAG	Unpublished
1887/267	Recluse in the Wintry Forest 寒林高士	VICP, 177 x 47	Ordered by Mr. Zhengqing, the head of city guards. The twentieth day of the first month, <i>dinghai</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 正卿總城大人之屬，光緒丁亥正月廿日，山陰任頤	Ordered by Mr. Zhengqing, the head of city guards. The twentieth day of the first month, <i>dinghai</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin.	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, pl. 11
1887/268	Zhong Kui Riding a Donkey 鍾馗騎驢	VICP, 77 x 39	The Dragon-Boat Festival [The fifth day of the fifth month] of the <i>dinghai</i> year, Guangxu. Made by the Master of Thatched Hall of Yiyi. 光緒丁亥端陽節，頤頤草堂主人自製	The Dragon-Boat Festival [The fifth day of the fifth month] of the <i>dinghai</i> year, Guangxu. Made by the Master of Thatched Hall of Yiyi.	PC	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 263
1887/269	Zhong Kui 鍾馗	VICP, 130 x 65	The Dragon-Boat Festival [The fifth day of the fifth month] of the <i>dinghai</i> year, Guangxu. Made by the Master of Thatched Hall of Yiyi. 光緒丁亥端陽節頤頤草堂主人自製	The Dragon-Boat Festival [The fifth day of the fifth month] of the <i>dinghai</i> year, Guangxu. Made by the Master of Thatched Hall of Yiyi.	BJ—XMG	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 103

1887/270	Sending Charcoal to the Poor 雪中送炭	VICP		Ordered by Mr. Guangpu, please comment. An auspicious day of the beginning of winter, <i>dinghai</i> year. Ren Yi Bonian fu of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光浦仁兄大人雅屬希正。丁亥孟冬吉日，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於海上寓齋	SH—SM	Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu, vol. 5, Hu 1-4618
1887/271	Portrait of Yang Xian 楊峴像	VICP, 147.4 x 41		The best [scene] in autumn is the moon. I moved around with my own shadow, imagined the face of Miaoweng [Yang Xian] and made a portrait of him in candlelight. The fifteenth day of the ninth month of the <i>dinghai</i> year, Ren Yi of Shanyin begged Taoist Kutie [Wu Changshuo] to post [this portrait to Yang for me]. 秋令惟月最良，顧影徘徊，遙想藐翁顏色，翫燈爲之寫像。丁亥九月望山陰任頤乞苦鐵道人郵寄 Additional colophons by Lu Hui 陸恢 and Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩	BJ—PM	Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu, vol. 23, Jing 1-6576
1887/272	Qingnu and Su'e 青女素娥圖	VICP		For Mr. Yongzhi. Late autumn of <i>dinghai</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 邕之先生教。光緒丁亥末秋山陰任頤	BJ—PM	Unpublished
1887/273	Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠	VICP, 149.5 x 82		For elder brother Mr. Hanchen. Please comment. In winter, the twelfth month of <i>dinghai</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian fu of Shanyin. 翰臣大兄先生雅屬即請大教，光緒丁亥冬十二月山陰任頤伯年甫	BJ—ASC	New Interpretation of Ming and Qing Painters, Shanghai, 1994, pl. 73.
1887/274	Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠	VICP		For Mr. Tingtao. Please comment. Late autumn, <i>dinghai</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian fu of Shanyin.	CU	Ren Bonian Huaxuan, TJ—TPP, 1960.

			聽濤仁兄大人之屬即希教正，光緒丁亥秋杪山陰任頤伯年甫			
1887/275	The Keeper of Geese and Egrets 蓄雁鷺圖	HICP, 46.3 x 67.5	For Mr. Jingchen. Please comment. In summer, the fifth month of <i>dinghai</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 精臣仁兄大人雅正，光緒丁亥夏五月，山陰任頤寫於海上寓齋	HK—LCT	<i>Mingjia Hammo</i> , No. 28, 1992.5, p. 39 Additional colophon by Zhong Dexiang 鍾德祥	
1888						
1888/276	Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊	VICP, 148.9 x 81	In the beginning of summer, <i>wuzi</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin painted this in the Thatched Hall of Yiyi in Shanghai. 光緒戊子首夏山陰任頤伯年寫於滬城之頤頤草堂	CZ—CM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol.6, Su 15-46	
1888/277	Fisherman 漁父圖	VICP, 93.2 x 54.3	For Mr. Yidi's perusal. The second month of <i>wuzi</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian fu of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 倚迪仁兄大人雅屬。光緒戊子二月山陰任頤伯年甫寫於海上寓齋。	BJ—PM	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 296.	
1888/278	Golden Grain Garden 金谷園圖	VICP, 134 x 64	Golden Grain Garden. [I] followed Xinluo Shanren (Hua Yan) and changed the method slightly. Four days after Qingming Festival (early April in solar calendar), the year of <i>wuzi</i> , Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin painted this in the Thatched Hall of Yiyi. 金谷園。師新羅山人而稍變其法，光緒戊子清明後四日，山陰任頤於頤頤草堂。	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. I, p. 67	
1888/279	Yuju in Meditation	VICP, 123 x 53	An auspicious day of the third month, the <i>wuzi</i> year,	HZ—ZPM	<i>Ren Bonian</i> , Xue Yongnian, Taipei:	

	玉局參禪			Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin recorded this in Shanghai. 光緒戊子三月吉日，山陰任頤記於海上寓齋			Jinxiu chubanshe, 1994, p. 28.
1888/280	Nuwa Forging the Stone 女媧煉石	VICP, 118 x 66		An auspicious day of mid-spring, the <i>wuzi</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒戊子仲春吉日，山陰任頤伯年甫	BJ—XMG		Chen Zongrui ed., <i>Jen I's Paintings, 1840-1895</i> , Singapore: Tan Tsz Chot, 1953, pl. 28; <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 109. * This painting has the same composition as the one (No. 1888/281) in the Nelson Atkins Museum, Kansas City and in a private collection (No. 1892/372). In this Xu Beihong version, the signature is slightly apart from the drapery of the figure. This painting also bears an extra seal “Zhanshu Beihong 暫屬悲鴻” on the left corner which distinguishes the two versions of the same composition.
1888/281	Nuwa Forging the Stone 女媧煉石	VICP.		An auspicious day of mid-spring, the year of <i>wuzi</i> , Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒戊子仲春吉日，山陰任頤伯年甫	KC—NAM.		*This painting has the same composition, painter's seals and inscription as the paintings in Xu Beihong Memorial Gallery in Beijing and in a private collection (see No. 1888/280 and No. 1892/372)
1888/282	Ladies 仕女圖冊	12 ALICP, 24 x 38.2		The fourth month, summer of <i>wuzi</i> year, Guangxu. Shanyin Ren Yi. 光緒戊子夏四月，山陰任頤。	BJ—PM		<i>Haishang shi Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 1, p. 126

1888/283	Wang Xizhi Observing the Geese 羲之觀鵝	VICP, 150 x 81	Three days before the fourth month, summer of <i>wuzi</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒戊子夏四月之前三日山陰任頤伯年甫寫於滬城寓齋	BJ—CAG	~133	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, pl. 14
1888/284	Golden Grain Garden 金谷園圖	VICP	After the fifteenth day of the fourth month, summer of <i>wuzi</i> year, Guangxu. I imitated the brushwork of Xinhuo Shanren (Hua Yan) and applied bright colours [in this picture]. Ren Bonian painted and recorded this. 光緒戊子夏四月望後，師新羅山人運筆，設以艷色，任伯年畫並記	BJ—CAG		
1888/285	Examining a Sword in the Shade of a Tree 樹蔭觀劍圖	VICP	The beginning of summer, <i>wuzi</i> year of Guangxu, Ren Yi of Shanyin [painted this] to decorate the wall of the guest hall of Dianchuntang in Shanghai. 光緒戊子首夏山陰任頤爲滬上之點春堂之賓日閣下補壁	SH—SM		Displayed permanently in Dianchuntang of Yu Garden, Shanghai; <i>Haishang minghuajia jingxuan ji</i> , Shanghai Museum, 1991, p. 58.
1888/286	Portrait of the Poverty-Stricken Military Official (Portrait of Wu Changshuo) 酸寒尉像	VICP, 164.2 x 77.6	Portrait of the Poverty-Stricken Military Official. The eighth month of <i>wuzi</i> year of Guangxu, Changshuo asked Ren Yi to paint this. 酸寒尉像。光緒戊子八月昌碩屬任頤畫 Additional inscriptions by Yang Xian 楊峴 and Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩	HZ—ZPM		Xue Yongnian, <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Taipei: Jinxiu chubanshe, 1994, p. 23
1888/287	Portrait of Shen Tongshi 沈銅士像	VICP	Portrait of Mr. Tongshi at his age of sixty-two. December of <i>wuzi</i> year of Guangxu, painted by Ren Yi of Shanyin. 銅士先生六十二歲像，光緒戊子嘉平山陰任頤寫 Also inscribed by Shen Tongshi 沈銅士 and Wu Gan 吳淦題	SH—SM		Unpublished

1888/288	Zhong Kui in Red Ink 硃筆鍾愷	VRIP	跋， The beginning of the fourth month, summer of <i>wuzi</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in the style of Xinluo (Hua Yan) in the Thatched Hall of Yiyi in Shanghai. 光緒戊子夏四月上浣，山陰任伯年甫寫於海上頤頤草堂，師新羅也	HZ—ZPM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 11, Zhe1-759
1888/289	Zhong Kui Reading, in Red Ink 硃筆鍾愷讀書圖	VRIP, 129.7 x 55.8	The beginning of the fourth month, summer of <i>wuzi</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this at the west chamber of his residence in Shanghai. 光緒戊子夏四月山陰任頤伯年甫寫於滬城寓齋西窗并記	SH—SM	<i>Haishang minghua jia jingxuan ji</i> , Shanghai Museum, 1991, p. 59
1888/290	Zhong Kui and His Younger Sister 鍾愷小妹圖	VICP, 133 x 67.5	Song Ba once painted "Zhong Kui and his Younger Sister", which I had seen in the collection of Siming Liumin (Chen Yan'an) at the Thatched Hall of Two Rains. It has been more than twenty years since I saw it. Three days after the beginning of summer (6th or 7th day in lunar calendar) of <i>wuzi</i> year, [I] copied [Song's picture] from a distance, to dispel the devil of sleepiness. Recorded by Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 宋八有鍾愷小妹圖，曾見於四明流民之二雨草堂，屈指已二十餘年矣。戊子三月立夏後三日坐雨西窗迢募一過，藉破睡魔。山陰任頤伯年甫並記	PC	Sold for Sotheby's New York in December 5, 1985.
1888/291	Zhong Kui and His Younger Sister, after Lao Zhide of the Five	VICP	Unknown	SH—CTC	<i>Recorded in Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 8-117

	Dynasties 背臨五代勞之 德鍾道小妹圖				
1888/292	Figure Paintings: 1. Boy Herding Buffaloes 秋郊放牧 2. Figure Sitting under Pine Trees 泉石鳴琴 3. Boating 柳溪潮漲 4. Hui Su Writing Calligraphy on Banana Leaves 綠天醉墨	4 VICP	1. Early autumn of <i>wuzi</i> year of Guangxu, Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒戊子新秋山陰任頤伯年甫寫於海上寓齋 2. An auspicious day in early autumn, <i>wuzi</i> year of Guangxu, Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒戊子新秋吉日山陰任頤伯年甫寫於海上寓齋 3. Ordered by Mr. Jingchen, please comment. Autumn, the eighth month of <i>wuzi</i> year of Guangxu, Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 稽臣仁兄先生雅屬即是就正，光緒戊子秋八月山陰任頤伯年 4. An auspicious day in early autumn, <i>wuzi</i> year of Guangxu, Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 光緒戊子新秋吉日山陰任頤伯年 Also inscribed by Zhong Dexiang 鍾德祥	PC (former collection of SP—TTC)	Chen Zongrui ed., <i>Jen I's Paintings, 1840-1895</i> , Singapore: Tan Tsze Chor, 1953, pl. 24~27.
1888/293	Riding in the Wintry Forest 寒林牧馬	VICP, 130 x 62	A night in the twelfth month of <i>wuzi</i> year, Guangxu, [I painted this] with my frozen hands by candlelight. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 光緒戊子嘉平宵窗秉燭呵凍，山陰任頤伯年	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, pl. 13.
1888/294	Herd boy and Buffaloes 牧牛圖	VICP, 134 x 64	In sunset, the shadows of the backs of buffaloes are as huge as mountains. An auspicious day of the twelfth month, <i>wuzi</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> breathing on his brush to warm it up.	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 1, 66

1888/295	Album of Figure Paintings 人物	4 ALICS, 29.5 x 34.5	夕陽牛背影如山。光緒戊子嘉平吉日山陰任頤伯年甫呵毫 1. In spring, the first month of <i>wuzi</i> year of Guangxu. 光緒戊子春正月 2. Bonian 伯年 3. The <i>wuzi</i> year of of Guangxu, Ren Yi of Shanyin. 光緒戊子, 山陰任頤 4. The second month of <i>wuzi</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 光緒戊子二月, 山陰任頤	PC (former collection of SP—TTC)	Sold for HK\$ 160,000 in May 1986, Sotheby's Hong Kong; <i>Jen I's Paintings, 1840-1895</i> , ed. Chen Zongrui, Singapore: Tan Tsze Chor, 1953, pl. 20-23.
1888/296	Figure Riding a Donkey 騎驢人物	FICP	Ordered by Mr. □quan. The first month of the <i>wuzi</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. □泉仁兄先生大雅之屬。光緒戊子正月, 山陰任頤伯年甫寫於海上	SH—SAA	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 279
1888/297	Reading Under the Cool Shade of Bamboo 竹蔭讀書	FICP	Five days after the beginning of summer, <i>wuzi</i> year, Guangxu. Ordered by Mr. Heqin. Ren Yi of Shanyin painted this in his studio in Shanghai. 光緒戊子立夏後五日, 似鶴琴先生之屬。山陰任頤寫於海上寓齋。	SH—SAA	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 4-17
1888/298	Figure Paintings 人物	4 ALICP	Unknown	BJ—PM	
1888/299	Observing Geese in Flight 目送歸鴻	VICP, 129 x 55.5	Ordered by Mr. Weiru, please comment. An auspicious day in early autumn, <i>wuzi</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 蔚如仁兄大人雅屬即是就正, 光緒戊子新秋吉日山陰任頤	PC	Sold for HK\$ 85,000, 1986.1, Christie's Hong Kong; <i>Mingjia Hanmo</i> , No. 27, 1992.4, p. 110
1888/300	Street Acrobat and monkey 戲猴女	VICP, 93 x 52	After being drunk on the first night of <i>wuzi</i> year of Guangxu. 1 [painted this] by candlelight. Recorded by Ren	HK—FJ	<i>Mingjia Hanmo</i> , No. 28, 1992.5, p. 31

			Yi.		
			光緒戊子元夜醉後□墨剪燭並記任頤		
1889					
1889/301	Liu Ling and A Deer Cart 鹿車劉伶圖	VICP, 128.5 x 66	An auspicious day of mid-summer, <i>yiyou</i> year of Guangxu, Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒己丑仲夏之吉，山陰任頤伯年寫於海上寓齋	PC	Sold for HK\$ 170,000 in March 1991, Christie's Hong Kong; <i>Mingjia Hanmo</i> , No. 28, 1992. 5, p. 84
1889/302	Nostalgic Memories of Homeland 故土難忘	VICP	An auspicious day of mid-summer, <i>yiyou</i> year of Guangxu, Ren Yi of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒己丑仲夏之吉，山陰任頤寫於海上寓齋	BJ—CAG	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 300
1889/303	Rosy Clouds from the East 紫氣東來	VICP, 134 x 65	In summer, the sixth month of <i>yiyou</i> year, Guangxu, Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> . 光緒己丑夏六月，山陰任頤伯年甫	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, pl. 15
1889/304	Figure Painting 人物	FICS	For Mr. Yousan's perusal. The <i>jichou</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 有三仁兄大人雅正。光緒己丑山陰任頤	BJ—CAG	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 305
1889/305	Herdboy and Buffaloes 牧 牛圖	VICP, 134 x 64	An auspicious winter day of the <i>jichou</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒己丑冬吉日，山陰任頤伯年甫	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 1, 48
1889/306	Magu Offering Her Birthday Wishes 麻姑獻 壽圖	VICP, 150 x 80	An auspicious day of mid-winter of <i>jichou</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin painted this at the west chamber of Guxiangshi. 光緒己丑仲冬之吉，山陰任頤伯年寫於古香室西樓	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, pl. 16
1889/307	Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊	VICP, 183.2 x 47	For Jinghua, an old friend. In the twelfth month of the <i>jichou</i> year, [I painted] by candlelight at the west chamber of Guxiangshi. Ren Yi of Shanyin.	BJ—PM	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 112

1889/308	Man on a Bridge 溪橋小解	VICP, 93.7 x 61.6	景華老友之教。己丑嘉平月古香室西樓剪燭。山陰任頤 The beginning of the <i>jichou</i> year of Guangxu. For brother Yitang to decorate the wall. Ren Bonian of Shanyin 光緒己丑上浣，寫似意堂老弟補壁，山陰任伯年	NY—RHE	Wen C. Fong, <i>Between Two Cultures</i> , New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001, pl. 10
1889/309	Xiaohong Sings and I (Jiang Baishi) Play the Flute 小紅低唱我吹簫	VICP, 150.5 x 81.3	At Midsummer of <i>jichou</i> year of Guangxu, [I] painted this after a <i>ci</i> of Jiang Baishi. Ren Bonian of Shanyin recorded this at the west chamber of Guxiangshi, Shanghai. 光緒己丑孟夏寫白石翁詞意，上海古香室西樓山陰任伯年記	SP—ZQZ	<i>Chinese Painting from the Asian Manila Foundation</i> , Taipei: Chang Foundation, 1994, p. 167
1889/310	Herd boy and Buffalos 牧牛	VICP	The twelfth month of <i>jichou</i> year of Guangxu, [I] moved my ink stone to the west chamber of Guxiangshi and painted this. Recorded by Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒己丑嘉平月移硯古香室西樓作是，山陰任頤伯年甫並記	CU	Zhong Tianshan ed., <i>Ren Bonian renwu hua niao</i> , Taipei: Yishu tushu gongsi, 1982, pl. 114
1889/311	Boating at the Red Cliff at Night 赤壁夜游圖	HICP, 35.5 x 78.5	For Mr. Hanchen's perusal. The twelfth month of <i>jichou</i> year of Guangxu, Ren Yi of Shanyin painted this by candlelight at the window of the west chamber of Guxiangshi Fanshop, Shanghai. 翰臣仁兄大人雅教，光緒己丑嘉平月山陰任頤寫於海上，古香室扇室西樓，宵窗剪燭	TJ—TAG	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 2, 172
1889/312	Li Guang Shooting the Stone 李廣射石	VICP, 150 x 80	Three days after the beginning of winter of <i>jichou</i> year, Guangxu, Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this at the window of the west chamber of Guxiangshi. 光緒己丑長至後三日，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於古香室西樓	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, pl. 17
1889/313	Family of Letters	VICP, 182 x 92	Three days after the beginning of winter of <i>jichou</i> year,	BJ—XMG	<i>Ren Bonian</i> , Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua

	世代書香			Guangxu. [1] painted this in the method of Ming xiaozi (Min Zhen) at the west chamber of Guxiangshi Fanshop. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin breathed on [his hands] and recorded this. 光緒己丑長至後三日，閔孝子畫法於古香室翳市西樓。 山陰任頤伯年甫呵凍記		ed., Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 114
1889/314	Searching for Plum Blossom in the Snow 踏雪尋梅	VICP		Unknown	CZ—CM	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol.6, Su 15-47
1890						
1990/315	Boating 童子泛舟	VICP		A day after the Qingming Festival (early April in solar calendar) of the second intercalary month of <i>gengyin</i> year, Guangxu, Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this at the Thatched Hall of Yiyi in Shanghai. 光緒庚寅閏二月清明後一日，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於海上頤頤草堂	TN—SYW	Unpublished
1990/316	Xu You Washing His Ears 許由洗耳	VICP		In winter, the tenth month of <i>gengyin</i> year, Guangxu, Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai.「光緒庚寅冬十月山陰任頤伯年甫寫於海上	SP—ZQZ	<i>Chinese Painting from the Asian Manila Foundation</i> , Taipei: Chang Foundation, 1994, p. 168
1990/317	Herdboys 牧童圖	VICP		The beginning of the second month of <i>gengyin</i> year, Guangxu, Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this at the Thatched Hall of Yiyi in Shanghai.光緒庚寅閏二月上浣，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於海上之頤頤草堂	CU	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 306
1990/318	Figure Paintings 人物冊 八幀	8 ALICP		The second intercalary month of <i>gengyin</i> year, Guangxu, Ren Yi of Shanyin. 光緒庚寅閏二月上浣，山陰任頤	HZ—ZCF	Unpublished

1990/319	Wang Xizhi Watching the Geese 羲之愛鵝圖	VICP, 92 x 40	In autumn, the seventh month of <i>gengyin</i> year of Guangxu, Ren Yi of Shanyin in Shanghai. 光緒庚寅秋七月，山陰任頤寫於海上	BJ—PM	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 117
1990/320	Stream, Pavilion and Autumn Clouds 溪亭秋霽	VICP 92.5 x 42	For Mr. Jinghua, please correct. The eighth month of <i>gengyin</i> year of Guangxu, Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 景華仁兄大人正之，光緒庚寅八月，山陰任頤伯年	BJ—CAG	
1990/321	Peach Blossom Land 桃源圖	VICP, 131.8 x 64.1	For Mr. Jizhou's perusal. At mid-autumn of <i>gengyin</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 繼之仁兄大人雅正，光緒庚寅仲秋，山陰任頤伯年	CA—JYZ	<i>Wenren hua cuibian</i> 文人畫萃編，vol.10, pl. 78
1990/322	Boating at the Red Cliff 赤壁泛舟	FICS, 25.5 x 26.3	For Mr. Xiaoyun, the elder uncle. The year of <i>gengyin</i> of Guangxu, Ren Yi. 嘯雲老伯大人之教，光緒庚寅任頤	NJ—NM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 2, 187
1990/323	Herd boys 牧童圖	VICP	Three days after the Moon Festival (Fifteenth day of the eighth month in lunar calendar) of <i>gengyin</i> year, Guangxu, Ren Yi painted this at in Shanghai. 光緒庚寅中秋後三日，任頤寫海上禹次 Brother Yiqing asked for this painting, I wrote again to dedicate this work to him. The twenty-eighth day of the twelfth month, <i>gengyin</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi recorded this again. 毅卿仁兄索畫屬款歸之，庚寅嘉平二十八日，任頤再記	CU	<i>Wenren hua cuibian</i> 文人畫萃編，vol.10, pl. 78
1990/324	Figures 人物	VICP	The <i>gengyin</i> year of Guangxu, the Taoist Ren Bonian of Shanyin. 光緒庚寅，山陰道士任伯年	CU	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 318
1990/325	Figure and Horse	VICP, 96 x 50.7	The year of <i>gengyin</i> of Guangxu, Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin.	TK—LZY	Tsuruta Takeyoshi, <i>Modern Chinese</i>

	人物與馬 (秋路眺望)		光緒庚寅山陰任頤伯年		<i>Painting</i> , Tokyo, 1974, pl. 48.
1990/326	Herdboy and Buffaloes 牧牛圖	VIP	Unknown	SH—CTC	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 8-118
1990/327	Magu and God of Longevity 麻姑壽星	VICP	Unknown	SH—CTC	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 8-119
1891					
1891/328	Figure with Female Attendant 侍女入朝	VICP, 67 x 165	In summer, the fifth month of <i>xinmao</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this at Qiezhushui in Shanghai. 光緒辛卯夏五月山陰任頤伯年甫寫於滬城且住室	HZ—SY	Unpublished
1891/329	Walking under the Pine Tree 松下漫步	VICP	Unknown	HZ—SY	Unpublished
1891/330	Xu You Washing His Ears 許由洗耳	VICP	For Mr. Yongnan's perusal. The twenty-ninth day of the first month of <i>xinmao</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> painted this in Shanghai. 詠南仁兄大人雅屬。光緒辛卯正月廿有九日，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於滬城寓齋	CU	
1891/331	Figure Paintings 重彩人物泥金底四條屏	4 VICGs, 205 x 43.		BJ—CAF	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pls. 138-141.
1891/332	Zhong Kui 鍾馗	VICP, 132 x 66	The beginning of the fourth month of <i>xinmao</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 光緒辛卯夏四月上浣，山陰任頤伯年	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, pl. 21
1891/333	Zhong Kui 鍾馗	VICP, 123 x 42.5,	The second month of <i>xinmao</i> year, Guangxu, painted by Ren Yi of Shanyin. 「光緒辛卯二月山陰任頤寫」	HB—HPM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 8, Ji 1-264.

1891/334	Portrait of Su'er (Wu Dongmai, the son of Wu Changshuo) 蘇兒小像（吳東邁小像）	Unknown	Unknown	吳昌碩七十三歲時，丙辰年題跋於上，吳俊卿癸卯年題跋於側，左下還有一跋不清），	Lost	**見吳昌碩詩手稿（在蘇州作，有吳昌碩題詩）
1891/335	Zhong Kui with a Fan 墨筆破扇鍾道	VIP	In summer, the beginning of the fifth month of <i>xinmao</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this at the Thatched Hall of Yiyi in Shanghai. 光緒辛卯夏五月上浣山陰任頤伯年甫寫於滬城之頤頤草堂	SH—SM	Unpublished. *Questionable, see Chapter 5, p. 192~196	
1891/336	Zhong Kui with a Fan 墨筆破扇鍾道圖	VIP	In summer, the beginning of the fifth month of <i>xinmao</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this at the Thatched Hall of Yiyi in Shanghai. 光緒辛卯夏五月上浣山陰任頤伯年甫寫於滬城之頤頤草堂	HZ—ZPM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 11, Zhe 1-761	
1891/337	Resting under Pine Trees 松林小憩 *The second layer of the painting, partially completed by Xu Beihong	VICP 177 x 47	In summer, the sixth month of <i>xinmao</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin wiped sweat away while painting this. 光緒辛卯夏六月，山陰任頤伯年甫揮汗並記	BJ—XMG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 76	
1891/338	Herdboy and Buffaloes 牧牛圖 *The second layer of the painting, partially	VICP 177 x 47	In summer, the early days of the sixth month of <i>xinmao</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒辛卯夏六月上浣，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於滬城寓齋	BJ—XMG	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 125	

	completed by Xu Beihong						
1891/339	Looking at Distance on a Cliff 獨立蒼茫 *The second layer of the painting, partially completed by Xu Beihong	VICP, 177 x 47		In summer, the later days of the sixth month of <i>xinmao</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin wiped sweat away [while painting this] at the east window of Qiezhushi in Shanghai. 光緒辛卯夏六月下沉，山陰任頤伯年甫揮汗於暹城且住室東窗	BJ—XMG	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 127	
1891/340	Boating 泛舟圖 *The second layer of the painting, partially completed by Xu Beihong	VICP, 175 x 46.6		In summer, the sixth month of <i>xinmao</i> year, Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒辛卯夏六月，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於海上寓齋	BJ—XMG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 75	
1891/341	Playing String Music at Mt. Dong 東山絲竹	VICP, 182 x 96.2		Xinluo Shanren's picture of "Xie Dongshan and His Concubines". My work imitates his idea slightly, just as [Dongshi] attempted to imitate the smile of [Xishi] and [a foreigner tried to] learn the way [Handan people] walked. My work would only make people laugh. I write this with apologies (to Hua Yan). Ren Yi. In the seventh month, the autumn of the <i>xinmao</i> year of Guangxu 新羅山人謝東山攜妓圖，於是作略仿其意，效顰學步，徒令人捧腹耳，書以致媿，光緒辛卯秋七月任伯年	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, pl. 19	
1891/342	Magu Offering Her Birthday Wishes 麻姑獻壽	VICGP, 135.8 x 72.9		In autumn, the early days of the sixth month of <i>xinmao</i> year, Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒辛卯秋九月上浣山陰任頤伯年甫	BJ—PM	Jia Dejiang ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Hebei: Meishu chubanshe, 2001, pl. 33.	
1891/343	Game of Throwing Arrows to a Distant Pot	VICP, 180.3 x 94.2		For Mr. Jinghua's comment. In winter, the twelfth month of <i>xinmao</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 景華	BJ—CAG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 81	

	投壺圖		仁兄大人雅正。光緒辛卯冬十二月，山陰任頤伯年		
1891/344	Composing Poems While Riding 驢背尋詩圖	VICP, 94 x 42	An auspicious day of the twelfth month of <i>xinmao</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒辛卯嘉平吉日，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於海上	BJ—CAG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 79
1891/345	Portrait of Yao Xiaofu (1838~?) at the Age of Fifty-Four 姚小復五十四歲小影	VICP	Unknown	FC Qian Jingtang	Unpublished
1891/346	Recluse under the Pine Tree 松下高士	FICGP	Unknown	NT—NM	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 6, Su 8-280
1891/347	Figure in the Snow 風雪歸人	VICP 128.3 x 64.5	An auspicious day of autumn, <i>xinmao</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this at Qiezhushi in Shanghai. 辛卯晚秋之吉，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於滬城且住室	TA—CF	Unpublished
1891/348	Heavenly Deity 天宮圖	VICP	Unknown	SH—CTC	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 8-120
1891/349	Sending Charcoal to the Poor 雪中送炭	VICP, 129.4 x 65.3	Later days of autumn, <i>xinmao</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this at the east window of Qiezhushi in Shanghai. 光緒辛卯晚秋山陰任頤伯年甫寫於滬城且住室東樓	PC	<i>Mingjia Hanmo</i> , No. 27, 1992, Hong Kong, p.17
1891/350	Figure Riding a Donkey 驢背人物	VICP, 126 x 66.4	For Mr. Shanting, the second brother. Please comment. An auspicious day of Midwinter, <i>xinmao</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 善亭仁二兄大人雅正，光緒辛卯仲冬上浣吉日，山陰任	PC	Sold for HK\$ 50,000 in November 1988, Sotheby's Hong Kong; <i>Mingjia Hanmo</i> , No. 28, 1992. 5, Hong Kong, p.75

1891/351	The God of Longevity, with attendant 麻姑壽星	VICP, 198.3 x 93	頤伯年甫寫於壺城 The winter of the <i>xinmao</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 光緒辛卯嘉平山陰任頤伯年甫 With calligraphy attributed to Wu Changshuo, dated 1919.	OX—AM	<i>Chinese Paintings in the Ashmolean Museum</i> , Oxford, Ashmolean Museum ed., 2000, pl. 117. *Questionable: The brushwork and signature of Ren Bonian, and calligraphy of Wu Changshuo are all false. This painting has very similar composition to the two authentic paintings on the same subject, "Magu Offering Her Birthday Wishes 麻姑獻壽" (No. 1889/306) at China Art Gallery and "Magu Offering Her Birthday Wishes 麻姑獻壽" (No. 1891/342) at the Palace Museum, Beijing.
1892					
1892/352	Listening to the Pine Tree 聽松圖	VICP, 92 x 40.4	For Mr. Chixian's perusal. The early days of the second month, <i>renchen</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi. 熾先仁兄大人雅正，光緒壬辰二月上浣任頤	BJ—PM	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 145
1892/353	Bathing the Horse 洗馬圖	VICP, 66.8 x 33	For Mr. Jieshou, please comment. The third month of <i>renchen</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 介壽仁兄大人正之。光緒壬辰三月山陰任頤	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 1, 72
1892/354	Mi Fu Paying Homage to the Rock 米芾拜石	VICP, 45 x 167.5	An auspicious day of early summer, <i>renchen</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this at	BJ—ASC	<i>New Interpretation of Ming and Qing Painters</i> , Shanghai, 1994, pl. 74

			Qiezhushi in Shanghai. 光緒壬辰首夏之吉，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於滬城且居室			
1892/355	Zhong Kui 鍾植圖	VICP, 168 x 91	In summer, the fourth month of <i>renchen</i> year of Guangxu. Bonian Ren Yi. 光緒壬辰夏四月伯年任頤	WX—CM		<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 2, 168
1892/356	Su Dongpo and Qinqao 東坡琴操圖		An afternoon of summer, <i>renchen</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this for Elder brother, Yongnan's approval in Shanghai. 詠南仁兄大人雅正，光緒壬辰午夏，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於滬城寓齋	CU		
1892/357	Listening Music under the Pine Trees 松坡妓樂	FICP	Unknown	SH—DYG		Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 7-1073
1892/358	Figure 人物	VICP	Unknown	SH—DYG		Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 7-1074
1892/359	Figure Paintings 人物四條屏 Fisherman 春江漁父圖， Herdboys 牧童閑讀圖， Bathing the Horses 柳蔭浴馬 and Mi Fu Paying Homage to a Rock 米芾拜石	4 VICP, 183 x 47	Early summer of <i>renchen</i> , Guangxu. Ren Bonian of Shanyin. 光緒壬辰首夏山陰任伯年	SH—SM		<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 5, Hu 1-4627
1892/360	Enjoying the Cool on the Willow Bank 柳蔭納涼圖 卷	HIP, 20.9 x 92.9	In new autumn of <i>renchen</i> year of Guangxu. [1] painted this for Dexian (Huang Dexian), my niece to enjoy. Ren Yi. 光緒壬辰新秋寫似德先（黃德先）賢侄婿清玩，任頤 Also inscribed by Ren Jinshu 任董叔 and Chu Deyi 褚德	BJ—PM		<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 1, 148

			彝.				
1892/361	Fisherman 漁父圖	VICP, 161.5 x 44.8		In autumn, the ninth month of <i>renchen</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒壬辰秋九月山陰任頤伯年甫	BJ—CAF	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 152	
1892/362	Lady and Children 弄璋圖	VICP, 107 x 42.8		In a winter month of <i>renchen</i> year, Guangxu. [I painted this] at the east chamber of the Thatched Hall of Yiyi while blowing [on my hands to keep them warm]. Recorded by Ren Bonian. 光緒壬辰冬月，頤頤草堂東樓呵凍任伯年誌	TJ—TAG	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 148	
1892/363	Lotus and Lady 採蓮仕女	VICP, 138.5 x 40		In autumn, early days in the ninth month of <i>renchen</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒壬辰冬十月上浣，山陰任頤伯年甫於滬城寓齋	BJ—CAG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 77	
1892/364	Washing Clothes 浣紗圖	VICP, 131 x 39		Early days in the twelfth month of <i>renchen</i> year, Guangxu. Snow window scene and heated ink stone. Recorded by the Taoist of Shanyin. 光緒壬辰嘉平上浣，雪窗炙硯，山陰道人任頤並記	GZ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 2, p. 149	
1892/365	Fishing by the Autumn Forest 秋溪垂釣	VICP, 90.8 x 45		The <i>renchen</i> year, painted by Ren Yi of Shanyin. 光緒壬辰山陰任頤寫	BJ—PM	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 146	
1892/366	Liu Ling and a Deer Cart 鹿車劉伶	HICP, 13.9 x 63.4		The early days of the twelfth month of <i>renchen</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒壬辰嘉平山陰任頤伯年甫	SH—SM	Unpublished	
1892/367	Gathering in a Bamboo Grove 竹林雅集	VICP, 106.8 x 48		Mr. Boxun's country house is hidden deep inside the bamboo groves. I have been admiring it a long time yet have	CU	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe,	

			not be able to pay a visit. [I] painted this out of my imagination with good mood after drinking wine. Summer of <i>renchen</i> year of Guangxu, Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 竹深處，伯璽先生別墅也，仰慕已久未能一訪，漫擬此圖以誌酒興，光緒壬辰夏山陰任頤伯年			1997, part II, p. 342. *The composition is the same as the "Villa in the Bamboo Grove 竹深留客處", undated, PC, No. UD/462
1892/368	A Scholar in the Wood 林中高士扇面	FICP, 18.2 x 49.6	The third month of <i>renchen</i> year, Guangxu. Ordered by Mr. Jinsheng. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 光緒壬辰三月爲晉笙仁兄大人之屬，山陰任頤	NJ—NM		<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 2, 194
1892/369	Ducks Swimming in the Spring River 春江放鴨	VICP, 67.5 x 41.5	For Mr. Diquan, please correct my mistakes. The month of winter of <i>renchen</i> year, Guangxu. Brother Yi of Shanyin. 滌泉仁兄大人指疵，光緒壬辰冬月山陰弟頤	BJ—CAG		China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, pl. 23
1892/370	Enjoying Tea in Spring Wind 春風啜茗	VICP	Unknown.	SH—DYG		Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol.12, Hu 7-1072
1892/371	Magu and a Crane 麻姑仙鶴	VICP, 126.2 x 63.7	For the eightieth birthday of Madame Zhang. A month in winter of <i>renchen</i> year [I] copied a picture by Wu Daozi. Ren Yi wrote this to celebrate [this event]. 張老伯母□老孺人八十壽，壬辰冬月撫吳道子本小□，任頤寫祝	PC		Appeared in Sotheby's Hong Kong in November 1990, lot 40 and withdrawn due to low bidding price; <i>Mingjia Hammo</i> , No. 28, 1992, p. 79. * Two seals appeared here are not seen in other works by Ren Bonian.
1892/372	Nuwa 女媧	VICS, 115.5 x 63.	A month in winter of <i>renchen</i> year, Guangxu. [I painted this] at the east chamber of the Thatched Hall of Yiyi while blowing [on my hands to keep them warm]. Ren Bonian. 光緒壬辰冬月頤隨草堂冬樓呵凍，任伯年	PC		Sold for HK\$ 80,000 in May 1988, Sotheby's Hong Kong; <i>Mingjia Hammo</i> , No. 28, 1992, 5, p. 85 * Compared this with other "Nu Wa" pictures of 1888 (No. 1888/280, No 1888/281), the signature in this painting

						seems too sketchy and weak, the brushwork is much thinner. Seals are exactly the same as the ones in the 1888 items.
1893						
1893/373	Herd boys 牧牛圖	VICP.		The early days of the third month, spring of <i>guisi</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒癸巳春三月上浣，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於海上	CU	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 350
1893/374	Zhong Kui in Red Ink 硃筆鍾馗	VRIP, 123.5 x 41.9		The fifth day of the fifth month, the year of <i>guisi</i> of Guangxu. Bonian <i>weng</i> of Shanyin painted this at the Thatched Hall of Yiyi. 光緒癸巳夏五月五日，山陰伯年翁寫頤頤草堂	GZ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 2, p. 150
1893/375	Zhong Kui Reading 鍾馗讀書圖	VICP, 130 x 65.5		Summer, the fifth month of <i>guisi</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Bonian of Shanyin painted this in Shanghai. 光緒癸巳夏五月，山陰任伯年寫於海上寓齋	TA—CF	Unpublished
1893/376	Figure with a Sword, Wine pot and Book. 人物	VICP, 133 x 65		Unknown	PC; FC of Berlin Museum	
1893/377	Returning to 吳昌碩歸田圖 *Portrait by Yin Yuan 尹沅 (1836~1899), Background by Ren Bonian.	VICP, 115.5 x 53.3		Portrait of Wu Changshuo at the age of fifty. Li Sheng (Yin Yuan). 吳昌碩五十歲小像。麗生 Ren Yi added the [background] scene. 伯年補圖 Colophon also by Wu Changshuo	HZ—ZPM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , Vol. 11, Zhe 1-742
1893/378	Portrait of Yang Jixian, the wife of Wu Changshuo 施	VICP		The year <i>guisi</i> of Guangxu, Ren Yi of Shanyin painted the background and Yin Yuan made the portrait.	NJ—NM	<i>Ming Qing renwu xiaoxiang huaxuan</i> , Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe,

	季仙小像 *Portrait by Yin Yuan 尹 沅, Background by Ren Bonian.		光緒癸巳山陰任頤寫圖，尹沅寫照		1979, plate 82. This is perhaps a pair to the previous item painted on the same occasion.
1893/379	Children at Play 兒戲圖	FICP	Unknown	SZ—SCW	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 6, Su 3-148
1893/380	Boating 泛艇圖	VICP	Unknown	SH—CTC	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 8-123
1893/381	Boating 泛艇圖	FICP	For the perusal of Mr. Yiqing. The beginning of the third month, spring of <i>guisi</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 沂卿仁兄大人雅正。光緒癸巳春三月上浣，山陰任頤。	BJ—CAG	China Art Gallery ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaqi</i> , Zhejiang: Renmin Meishu chubanshe, 1994, pl. 43
1893/382	Figure 人物	VICP		SH—CTC	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 12, Hu 8-124
1894					
1894/383	Magu and the God of Longevity 麻姑壽星	V	Beginning of the autumn of <i>jiawu</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 光緒甲午新秋，山陰任頤伯年甫	BJ—CAG	
1894/384	Listening to <i>Xiao</i> Music under a Pine Tree 松下聞蕭	VICP, 105 x 54.8	An auspicious day of the beginning of the eleventh month, winter of <i>jiawu</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin painted in Shanghai. 光緒甲午冬十一月上浣吉日，山陰任頤伯年甫寫於海上 寓齋	BJ—CAG	Xue Yongnian, <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Taipei: Jinxu chubanshe, 1994, p. 29.
1894/385	Listening to Cicadas in Autumn 秋聲賦	VICP, 135.5 x 53.9	Ordered by Mr. Hengshan, please comment. The eleventh month, winter of <i>jiawu</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i>	BJ—PM	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 83

				of Shanyin. 衛珊仁兄大人雅屬即請教之，光緒甲午年冬十一月，山陰任頤伯年甫		
1894/386	Going to the Military Service in Shanghai Gate, a portrait for Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩山海關從軍圖	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Lost	* According to Wu Changshuo's epitaph for Ren Bonian in 1895, unpublished draft. Collection of Zhejiang Library.
1895						
1895/387	Figure Paintings 人物冊三幀 1. Man Sitting with a Tiger 人物與虎 2. An elder Walking with a Stick 持杖老者 3. Figure Meditating on a cliff 崖間坐禪	3 ALLICPs	1. The second month, spring of <i>yiwai</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 光緒乙未春二月，山陰任頤 2. The second month of <i>yiwai</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 光緒乙未二月山陰任頤 3. The second month of <i>yiwai</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 光緒乙未二月山陰任頤	PC		<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 86-88 * While the seals are correct, the brushwork of this album seems too detailed and refined for Ren Bonian's old hands.
1895/388	Remembering the Old Past under the Shade of Palm Leaves, Portrait of Wu Changshuo 棕蔭憶舊	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Lost	
1895/389	Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊	VICP	The fifth month of <i>yiwai</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin. 光緒乙未閏五月，山陰任頤	BJ—PM	Unpublished	
1895/390	Xu You Washing His Ears 許由洗耳圖	VICP, 140.1 x 81	Unsigned. Colophon by Gao Yong. 高邕	BJ—PM	Unpublished	

1895/391	Guanyin Dashi in the Bamboo Grove 竹林大士	VICP, 135.5 x 51.5,	The second month, spring of <i>yihwei</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin painted this with prayers and respect. 光緒乙未春二月, 山陰任頤盥手合十敬寫	Ren Yi	PC	Sold for HK\$ 60,000 in January 1989, Christie's Hong Kong; <i>Mingjia Hammo</i> , No. 28, 1992.5, p.71
1895/392	Guanyin Dashi Sitting in a Bamboo Grove 竹林大士	VICP	The second month, spring of <i>yihwei</i> year of Guangxu. Ren Yi of Shanyin washed his hands before painting this with prayers. 光緒乙未秋仲, 山陰任頤盥手合十	Ren Yi	SH—WS	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 364.
Undated (N. D.)						
N.D./393	Man and Horse 人馬圖	VICP, 132 x 63	Ordered by Mr. Jieliu, please comment. Ren Yi Bonian. 介流仁兄大人雅屬, 即希正之, 任頤伯年		GZ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1995, vol. 2, p. 146
N.D./394	Bathing the Horses 洗馬圖	VICP	Unknown		TJ—TAG	Unpublished
N.D./395	Walking among Streams and Mountains 溪山策杖圖	VICP, 132.5 x 31.5	Unsigned		TJ—TAG	
N.D./396	Looking at Chicken 賞雞圖	HICP, 136 x 34	Unsigned		BJ—XMG	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 174.
N.D./397	Herd Boy and a Buffalo 牧牛圖	VICP, 136 x 34	Unsigned		BJ—XMG	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 169
N.D./398	Playing String Music at Mt. Dong 東山絲竹 *Unfinished work, colour added by Xu Beihong	VICP, 119.5 x 41	Unsigned		BJ—XMG	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 168
N.D./399	Xiaohong Sings and I	VICP, 145 x 41	Unsigned		BJ—XMG	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren</i>

	(Jiang Baishi) Play the Flute 小紅低唱我吹簫					Bonian, Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 177
N.D./400	Mi Fu Paying Homage to the Rock 米顛拜石	FICGP, 28 x 27.6	For Mr. Yuecha, please correct. Painted by Bonian Ren Yi. 月槎仁兄大人正可，伯年任頤寫	NJ—NM		Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 198
N.D./401	Mi Fu Paying Homage to the Rock 米顛拜石	VICP, 150 x 74	Written by Bonian Ren Yi. 伯年任頤寫	PC		<i>Arts of Asia</i> , vol. 15, Nov/Dec 1985, p25.
N.D./402	Boating at Night under the Red Cliff 赤壁夜游圖	HICP, 35.5 x 78.5		TJ—TAG		
N.D./403	Boating at the Red Cliff 赤壁詩意	VICP, 143 x 37.8	Bonian. 伯年	SH—SM		
N.D./404	Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠	HICP	Unsigned. Xu Beihong inscribed: Three Chivalrous Travellers in which Ren followed the method of Zhanghou (Chen Hongshou), was painted by Ren Bonian in his early years. It was a gift from Mr. Wu Zhongxiong. I bear [this favour] in mind forever. Beihong. <i>xinwei</i> year (1931). 三俠，伯年先生早時作，概純守章侯法也。吳君仲雄貽我，永志不忘，悲鴻，辛未	BJ—XMG		
N.D./405	Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠	VICP	For Mr. Hanchen, please comment. Winter, the twelfth month of <i>dinghai</i> year, Guangxu. Ren Yi Bonian <i>fu</i> of Shanyin. 翰臣大兄先生即請大教。光緒丁亥冬十二月山陰任頤伯	BJ—ASC		New Interpretations of Ming and Qing Paintings, Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe, 1994, plate 73.

N.D./406	[Huaisu] Writing Calligraphy on Banana Leaves 蕉葉題書圖	FICP, 18.5 x 52.7	年甫。 For Mr. Daisheng, the calligrapher. Ren Yi. 岱生仁兄大人法家賞鑒。任頤。 Writing calligraphy on banana leaves. The fifth month of <i>dinghai</i> year (1887), Chou Weiren. 蕉葉題書。丁亥五月疇衛人。	NJ—NM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1995, vol. 2, p. 195 Before 1887.
N.D./407	Food for Sungong 孫公進 食圖軸	VICP, 175.3 x 95	Sun Gongcheng of the Tang dynasty held the office of <i>Sikong</i> in the government. Each meal, he ate without table; he had his servants holding food and standing beside him. Such an arrangement was called "table of flesh". Bonian. 唐孫公晟官至司空，每食不設几案，使妓各舉一器立四 傍，號曰肉台盤。伯年。	SZ—SCM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 6, Su 1-509
N.D./408	Empress Yang Drinking 貴妃醉酒圖冊	ALICP	Qiu Shifu (Qiu Ying) painted this subject before. [I] tried to imitate [his work]. Ren Yi. 仇實父有此，略師之。任頤	BJ—PM	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, p. 390
N.D./409	Dramatic Scene 辛安驛	ALICP	A playful work by Qi yi, the old man. 期頤老人戲作	PC	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, p. 448
N.D./410	Xishi 西施圖	VICP, 105 x 27	Unsigned.	BJ—XMG	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 173 According to Xu's colophon, this is an unfinished work.
N.D./411	Lady under a Paulownia 桐蔭仕女	VICP, 177 x 47	Unsigned	BJ—XMG	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu

						chubanshe, 1996, pl. 170
N.D./412	Playing the Flute under a Paulownia Tree 桐下吹簫	VICP.	Bonian 伯年		TJ—TAG	
N.D./413	Playing the Flute under a Paulownia Tree 桐下吹簫 圖	VICP, 135 x 32	Unknown		TJ—TPP	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 8, Jin 4-50
N.D./414	Playing the Flute under a Paulownia Tree 桐蔭吹簫 圖	VICP 89 x 20.5	Bonian. 伯年		GZ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1995, vol. 2, p. 147
N.D./415	Lady 仕女軸	HICP, 107.5 x 42.6	Unknown		TJ—TAG	
N.D./416	Lady 仕女	ALICP, 33.2 x 35.2	Bonian Ren Yi 柏年任頤寫		SH—SM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , 1994, vol. 11, Hu 1-4633
N.D./417	Figure Paintings 人物仕女冊九幀 1. Recluse in the Bamboo Grove 修竹高士 2. Recluse Carrying a Fan 執扇高士 3. Figure Reading 人物與書 4. Figure in Wintry Scene 冬景人物 5. Figure Sitting alone under a Tree 樹蔭獨坐 6. Meditating in the Woods	AICP, 9 leaves, 29.8 x 33.7	1. Bonian 伯年 2. Unsigned 無款 3. Unsigned 無款 4. Ren Bonian 任伯年 5. Bonian 伯年 6. Bonian 伯年 7. Bonian 伯年 8. Bonian 伯年 9. Written by Bonian 伯年寫		BJ—CAG	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 3, Jing 3-218

	林間沉思 7. Lady Playing Pipa 仕女撫琴						
N.D./418	Figure Paintings 人物	4FIPs, D/49.2	Unsigned.	Unsigned.	BJ—CAG	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 1, Jing 3-219	
N.D./419	Figure Painting 人物	FICS	For brother Bingzhang, the calligrapher. [Your] junior brother Yi. 秉章仁兄法家指教。弟頤	PC			
N.D./420	Figure Painting 人物	FICGP	For Mr. Xiaoyuan. Please comment. Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 小園仁兄大人雅屬，即請正是。伯年任頤寫於滬上客齋	NT—NM			
N.D./421	Figure Painting 人物	FICP	For Mr. Guanren. Bonian Ren Yi. 莞仁兄大人雅正，伯年任頤	PC			
N.D./422	Zhong Kui Carrying a Sword, in Red Ink 朱畫鍾馗像	VRIP, 95 x 39.8	Unsigned Additional colophon by Gao Yong.	SH—SM		Zhang Xiaoling & Dong Yue ed., <i>Ren Bonian renwu huafeng</i> , Sichuan: Chongqing chubanshe, 1997, pl. 124.	
N.D./423	Zhong Kui in Red Ink 朱筆鍾馗	VRIP	Bonian Ren Yi. 伯年任頤	SH—SM		Unpublished	
N.D./424	Zhong Kui in Red Ink 朱筆鍾馗	VRIP, 85.3 x 50.5	Bonian Ren Yi. 伯年任頤	SP—ZQZ		<i>Chinese Painting from the Asian Manila Foundation</i> , Taipei: Chang Foundation, 1994, p. 175	

							Forgery, see Chapter 5, p. 189~191
N.D./425	Rosy Clouds from the East 紫氣東來	VICP, 156.7 x 40.4		For Mr. Yishan, please comment. Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 揭山仁兄大人雅屬希正，伯年任頤寫於春申浦上寓齋	BJ—PM		Jia Dejiang ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Hebei: Meishu chubanshe, 2001, pl. 69.
N.D./426	Rosy Clouds from the East 紫氣東來	VICP, 92.7 x 38		Bonian Ren Yi Painted this in Shanghai. 伯年任頤寫於滬上	GZ—PM		<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992 vol. 2, p. 151
N.D./427	Laozi Transmitting the <i>Daodejing</i> . 老子授經圖	VICP, 142.7 x 34.3		Painted by Bonian 伯年寫	NJ—NM		Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 199
N.D./428	Riding a Donkey 騎驢圖軸	VICP, 106.6 x 33.8		Unsigned.	SH—SM		Unpublished.
N.D./429	Immortals Giving Their Birthday Wishes 群仙祝壽圖	12 VICCPs, 206.8 x 59.5		Unsigned	SH—SAA		Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pls. 180~194.
N.D./430	Magu Offering Her Birthday Wishes 麻姑祝壽	VICP		The seventieth birthday of Lady Chen, the mother of Liu family. Bonian Ren Yi wrote this at Liuyue Shanfang in Suzhou. 劉母陳太夫人七十壽，伯年任頤寫於蘇臺留月山房。	CU		Zhang Xiaoling & Dong Yue ed., <i>Ren Bonian renwu huafeng</i> , Sichuan: Chongqing chubanshe, 1997, plate 86. The seal “Xianxian Ren zi qishiwu shi sun 先賢任子七十五世孫” in intaglio has not so far been found in other works by Ren Bonian.
N.D./431	Nine Elder Men 九老圖	VICP		Unknown	TA—JBW		Unpublished. Former collection of Xu Beihong.
N.D./432	Ge Zhichuan Moving House	VICP, 90.7 x 49.9		For Mr. Xiangquan. Please comment. Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai.	SH—SM		<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 5, Hu 1-4641.

	葛稚川移居圖			湘荃仁兄大人雅署並乞正之，伯年任頤寫於黃歇浦上		
N.D./433	Liu Hai 劉海像	VICP		Written by Bonian Ren Yi. 伯年任頤寫 Additional inscription by Lu Hui 陸恢 in 1898.	Guwuxuan 古吳軒	
N.D./434	Talking about the Dao 談道圖	FICS, Diameter/ 25.5		Talking about Dao. [I] adopted Chen Laolian's methods of colouring and linear drawing in Shanghai. For Mr. Jisheng. Bonian Ren Yi of Shanyin. 談道圖。仿陳老蓮勾染法于春申浦上。吉生仁兄大人雅 正。山陰伯年任頤	GZ—PM	
N.D./435	Portrait of the Wife of Hu Gongshou 胡公壽夫人像	VICP, 131 x 53		Unsigned Inscription by Xu Beihong.	BJ—XMG	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 167
N.D./436	Portrait of [Zhu] Shuzhen 淑貞小像	FICP		Bonian made this portrait of [Ms. Zhu] Shuzhen for [Ling] Weixian. 伯年為味閑寫淑貞小像	SH—SAA	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , Vol. 12, Hu 4-22.
N.D./437	Portrait of Jinghua 景華像 Joint work by Li Xiangren 李仙根 (portrait) and Ren Bonian (background).	VICP, 128.2 x 71.75		An elegant reflection of Mr. Jinghua, painted by [Li] Xiangren. Bonian added background setting. 景華仁兄大人雅照，仙根寫，伯年為之補圖	HZ—ZPM	* One colophon appended to the painting was written in the <i>jinao</i> year of Guangxu (1879). Therefore this portrait should have been made before 1879
N.D./438	Portrait of a Marvellous Child 神嬰圖 (Portrait of the grandson of Jiang Shinong)	VICP, 105.6 x 48.2		Imitating the "Marvellous Child" by the Master of Plum Blossom Villa (Wu Zhen). Painted for the grandson of elder brother Shinong. Bonian Ren Yi. 仿梅花庵主神嬰圖。為石農老兄令孫寫。伯年任頤。	SZ—SCM	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 214
N.D./439	No Fragrance 無香味圖	VICP, 120.5 x 55.5		Monk Dadian from Mt. Yu asked me to paint this "No Fragrance". The passer of Shanyin path, Yi. 猗嶺僧大顛屬繪無香味圖，山陰道上行者頤	BJ—CAG	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 69

N.D./440	Anonymous Portrait 佚名肖像	VICP	Bonian Ren Yi. 伯年任頤	SH—CSF	<i>Qongbaozhai huapu—Ren Bonian</i> , Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 1995, p. 25.
N.D./441	Anonymous Portrait 肖像	VICP	Unsigned by Ren Bonian Inscription added by Ren Jinshu.	CU	
N.D./442	Portrait of Wu Changshuo Enjoying the Cool Shade under the Banana Tree 蕉蔭納涼	VICP, 129.5 x 58.9	Unsigned Inscription by Wu Changshuo and Zheng Wenzhuo 鄭文焯 in 1904.	HZ—ZPM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 11, Zhe 1-762
N.D./443	Portrait of an Unknown Man Enjoying the Cool Shade under the Banana Tree 蕉蔭納涼	VICP	Unsigned	BJ—CAG	<i>Yiyuan Duoying</i> , No. 10, p. 33.
N.D./444	Portrait of Shaohua 少花像	VICP	For Elder brother Shaohua who ordered me to paint the background scene in the style of Xinluo Shanren (Hua Yan). Ren Yi painted this in Suzhou. 少花大兄大人屬仿新羅山人後爲補圖，任頤寫於蘇臺寓 次	NJ—NM	<i>Ming Qing renwu xiaoxianghua xuan</i> , Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1979, plate 77.
N.D./445	Figure at Study 課讀	FICS	For brother Yueqing. Painted by Bonian Ren Yi. 月汀仁兄 教。伯年任頤寫	PC; FCSP—TTC	Chen Zongrui ed., <i>Jen I's Paintings</i> , 1840~1895, Singapore: Tan Tsze Chor, 1953, pl. 18
N.D./446	Two Elders Reading 二老 讀書圖	FICGP, 18 x 52	Ordered by Mr. Dongxuan. Bonian Ren Yi. 東軒仁兄大人雅 屬，伯年任頤	NJ—NM	<i>Ren Bonian jingpinji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 11
N.D./447	Scholar on a Rock 石上讀書	FICP, 19.06 x 53.83	For Mr. Hanqing, please comment. Written by [your] junior brother, Ren Yi.	NY—RHE	

N.D./448	Studying at an Autumn Night 秋夜讀書圖	FICS	翰卿仁兄大人有道之教，弟任頤寫 For Mr. Meixi, please correct. Bonian Ren Yi. 梅溪仁兄大人雅正伯年任頤 Additional colophon by Hu Gongshou: The fifth month, summer of <i>yihai</i> year (1875), [Mr. Meixi] ordered [Hu] Gongshou to write [Ouyang Xiu's] essay [on the painting]. 乙亥夏五又屬公壽節錄其文。	PC	Sold for HK\$ 62,000 in November 1881 by Sotheby's Hong Kong; <i>Mingjia Hammo</i> , No. 27, (1992.4), p. 110 The painting was finished before 1875.
N.D./449	Looking at the Distant Swallows on a Cliff 霜崖眺雁	VICP, 155.8 x 42.5	Bonian. 伯年	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992, vol. 1, p. 77b
N.D./450	Riding on a Mountain Path 山徑騎馬	FICGP	For perusal of Mr. Songpo. Bonian Ren Yi. 松坡仁兄大人雅正。伯年任頤。	TJ—TPP	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tuntu</i> , vol. 8, Jin 4-53
N.D./451	Riding in Autumn Hills 秋山游騎	ALICP, 35.7 x 35.7	Ordered by Mr. Houxuan, please comment. Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 厚軒仁兄大人屬即正伯年任頤寫於上海寓齋	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992, vol. 1, p. 77a
N.D./452	Figure, a Plum Tree and a Crane 梅邊攜鶴	VICP, 155.5 x 43.5	Bonian Ren Yi painted this in Shanghai. 伯年任頤寫於春申浦	BJ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1992, vol. 1, p. 78a
N.D./453	Boating 泛舟圖	VICP	Bonian Ren Yi. 伯年任頤	CU	Wan Jingxian ed., <i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 401
N.D./454	Looking at Clouds 看雲圖	VICP, 143 x 33.7	Unsigned	GZ—PM	<i>Haishang si Ren jingpin</i> , Beijing: Hebei meishu chubanshe, 1995 vol. 2, p. 171
N.D./455	Observing Fowl in Quietude 靜中觀雞	VICP	Ren Yi Bonian imitated the ancient style. 任頤伯年仿古	CU	<i>Ren Bonian huaji</i> , Wan Jingxian ed., Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1997, part II, p. 389

UD/456	Mr. Zhu Calling at Chicken 祝翁呼雞	VICP, 143.6 x 34.5	Written by Bonian Ren Yi. 伯年任頤寫	NJ---NM	Guo Xueshi, Mu Meihua ed., <i>Ren Bonian</i> , Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, pl. 200
UD/457	Figure in Landscape 人物山水	HICP, 39 x 147.5	Ren Yi of Shanyin breathing on his hands at the Thatched Hall of Yiyi in Shanghai. 山陰任頤呵凍於滬上頤頤草堂	PC.	Sold for HK\$ 115,000 in April 1984 by Sotheby's Hong Kong; <i>Mingjia Hammo</i> , No. 27, (1992.4), p. 111
UD/458	Album of Figure Painting 人物冊頁十二開	12 ALICP, 14.7 x 17.2	Bonian 伯年	PC	Sold for HK\$600,000 in May 1987 by Sotheby's Hong Kong; <i>Mingjia Hammo</i> , No. 27, 1992.4, Hong Kong, p.115
UD/459	Talking about the Old Past in the Thatched Hall. 草堂話舊圖	VICP, 94.7 x 35	Painted by Ren Yi Bonian of Shanyin. 山陰任頤伯年寫	CA---JYZ	<i>Wenrenhua cuibian</i> , vol.10, pl. 81 *This scenery in this painting should be Ren Bonian's residence.
UD/460	Figure Paintings 山水人物冊頁： 1. Talking in a Thatched hall. 草堂閑話 2. Xu Wei Napping on <i>Shanhajijing</i> 林間高臥	2 ALICP, 19.7 x 24.5	1. Bonian Yi. 伯年頤 2. Old Fellow of Green Vine (Xu Wei) Napping on <i>Shanhajijing</i> . Bonian painted this in Shanghai. 青藤老人臥於山海經，伯年寫於滬上	CA---JYZ	<i>Wenrenhua cuibian</i> , vol.10, pl. 76-77.
UD/461	Resting under the Shade of Bamboo 竹蔭休閒	VICP	Unknown	GZ---AG	Recorded in <i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu</i> , vol. 14, Yue 2-538
N.D./462	Villa in the Bamboo Grove 竹深留客處	VICP.	Unsigned Inscription by Ren Jin (1935)	PC	Sold in 1997 by Jia De Auction House in Beijing; cat. p. 243. *The composition is the same as the "Villa in the Bamboo Grove 竹深留客處", 1892, CU. (see No. 1892/367)

N.D./463	The God of Longevity, with attendant 壽星圖	VICP, 159.5 x 93	Unsigned. Inscription by Cheng Shifa: 'Evergreen', authentic work by Mr. Ren Bonian of Shanyin. Inscribed and certified by Cheng Shifa. 山陰任伯年先生長春圖真跡，程十髮鑑題	PC	<i>Mingjia Hanmo</i> , No. 28, 1992.5, p. 117. Auctioned in November 1990 at Sotheby's, Hong Kong, sold for HK\$ 70,000 (pre-sale estimate HK\$100,000 ~ 120,000). * The seal "Bonian changshou 伯年長壽" in the left corner is not seen in other works by Ren Bonian. The composition of this painting is almost the same as another questionable painting "The God of Longevity, with attendant" (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, see No. 1891/351).
N.D./464	God of Longevity 無量壽 佛	VICP, 121.9 x 42.3	Unsigned. Additional inscriptions by Chu Deyi 褚德彝 and Ren Jinshu 任薰叔.	NJ—NM	<i>Zhongguo gudai shuhua tunu</i> , 1994: Su 24 — 1349 *The same composition is also found in an undated painting (N.D./465), sketched by Ren Bonian, coloured by Wang Yiting and inscribed by Wu Changshuo in 1916–1917.
N.D./465	God of Longevity 無量壽 佛 *Sketched by Ren Bonian, colour added by Wang Yiting	VICP, 134.5 x 49	Unsigned. Additional inscriptions by Wu Changshuo.	BJ—PM	<i>Yinyuan Duoyin</i> , No. 54, 1995.6, pl. 41. *The same composition is also found in an undated painting of the same title in the collection of Nanjing Museum (N.D./464).

SEALS OF REN BONIAN

Ren Bonian was perhaps one of the most popular and productive painters in late nineteenth-century China who produced more than five hundred figure paintings and one thousand pieces of work on other subjects. However, when Ren Bonian became addicted to opium in the late 1880s, he slowed down his artistic development and his daughter and students began to paint for him. Some followers even forged his paintings after Ren's death under the economical pressure. Therefore, a large number of questionable paintings are collected in the museums and private hands today. In addition to the stylistic analysis provided in my fifth chapter, we should consider an understanding of Ren Bonian's habitual use of seals a useful tool for studying the authenticity of his painting.

Although one cannot make a judgement on the precise number of seals Ren had actually used or the precise starting dates of each seal, and although different degrees of humidity of the ink pad and the varied strength with which one pressed the stamp on different materials would also bring different visual results, still a knowledge of his seals can help us to identify a fabrication especially when the forger is familiar with the exemplar's painting style and writing.

Through the thirty years of Ren Bonian's artistic life, he possessed at least seventy-three seals. His choice of seal often changed along with changes of his self-style and studio names. For instance, in the 1860s', Ren was known as "Ren Run 任潤" and "Ren Xiaolou 任小樓". If the seals "Ren Run zhiyin 任潤之印" (seal of Ren Run, No. 2) and "Ren shi Xiaolou 任氏小樓" (Seal No. 6) appear in any painting bearing a date later than 1870, one should be cautious about its

authenticity. Similarly, if seals such as “Ren Heshang 任蘇尚” (Monk Ren, Seal No. 53), “Hua nu 畫奴” (Slave of painting, Seal No. 48) and “Shanyin daoshang xingzhe 山陰道上行者” (The passer of Shanyin path, Seal No. 40) carved by Wu Changshuo appear in a painting bearing a date earlier than 1875, the painting could be quite questionable.

Ren Bonian had a habit of stamping one seal in intaglio along with another seal in relief on paintings of certain subjects. For instance, Ren preferred to stamp “Ren Bonian 任伯年” (Seal No. 13, in relief) along with “Yi yin 頤印” (Seal No. 15, in intaglio) under his signature in pictures of Zhong Kui; and in his late years, Ren often used “Bonian 伯年” (No. 59, in intaglio) and “Ren Yi zhiyin 任頤之印” (Seal No. 60, in relief) together.

Among all seventy-three seals, a set of twelve seals all bearing slightly varying imprints “Yi yin 頤印” in intaglio are most confusing and problematic.



This seal “Yi yin 頤印” (Fig. 1a, Seal No. 4) first appeared in “Lady in Plum Blossoms 梅花仕女” (Zhejiang Provincial Museum) in 1866. By 1870 when it appeared on the painting of “Nongyu Playing the *xiao* 弄玉吹簫” (Collection of Tianjin People’s Publisher of Fine Art; Fig. 1b), the seal shows a notch in the margin at the upper-left corner. The latest appearance of this seal is on paintings dated 1874.

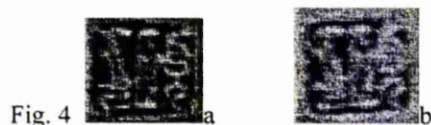


The second example of “Yi yin 頤印” (Fig. 2, Seal No. 15) is seen in works of

1872, 1875, 1878, 1879 and 1881. The strokes of the characters are elongated and structure is of four-sided plan, which presents a rather forceful quality compared to the previous example.



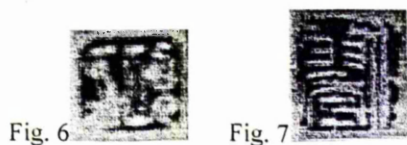
The third example made its first appearance in 1875 (Fig. 3a, Seal No. 17). Perhaps because of the frequent usage, the margins of the two lower corners began to break since 1877 (Fig. 3b). The seal continued to be in service until 1888.



This seal is quite similar to the third example given above, except that its strokes are slender and more cursive. It appeared in 1881 (Fig. 4a, Seal No. 25), and in 82, 83, 85, 87, 88 and 89. Apart from the upper-right corner, which began to show a slightly larger notch from 1883 onwards (Fig. 4b), this seal kept its original appearance over time.

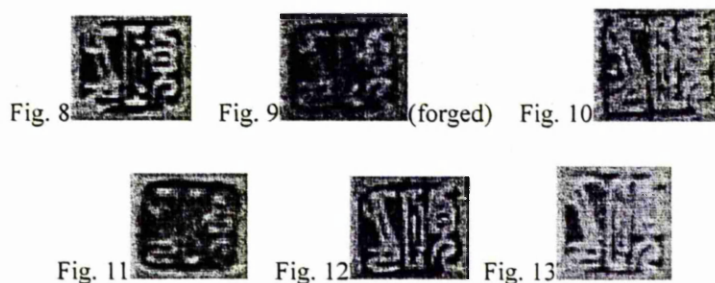


The fifth example (Fig. 5, No. 35) made its first appearance in 1881. The two strokes on the left part of “yin 印” are fused together in this seal, which Ren used from 1881 to 1884.



The sixth example (Fig. 6, No. 51) appeared 1888. The strokes in the imprint are quite cursive and smooth. A small notch cuts through the margin beneath the last stroke of “yin 印”. Ren Bonian used this seal briefly during 1888~89, sometimes along with “Ren Bonian 任伯年” (Fig. 7, No. 31), both in intaglio.

Beside the six types shown above, we also find another six seals of “Yi yin 頤印”, namely Fig. 8 (Seal No. 3), Fig. 9, Fig. 10 (Seal No. 16), Fig. 11 (Seal No. 23), Fig. 12 (Seal No. 24) and Fig. 13 (Seal No. 45), each of which is found only once in Ren Bonian’s existing work.



The seals that appeared on paintings dated 1866 (Fig. 8, Seal No. 3) and 1874 (Fig. 9) showed some affinity to each other, yet it is the 1866 seal that seems to embody power and fluency through its neat composition. It is worth noting that the 1874 seal (Fig. 9) appears only once in “Two Seated Elders 二老并坐” (1874, Tianjin People’s Publisher of Fine Art) which is considered to be a forgery.¹ Perhaps the 1874 seal was forged on the basis of authentic seals such as Fig. 4 or Fig. 8.

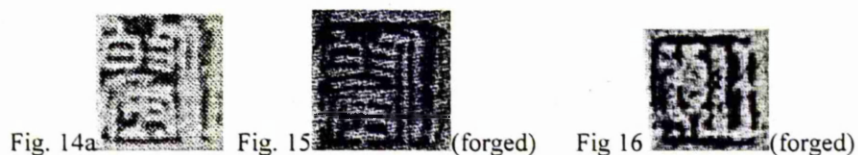
Apart from the examples of questionable seals, small changes within a single seal, for instance “Ren Bonian 任伯年” (Fig. 14a-d, No. 31) in intaglio, used by Ren Bonian from 1879~1891, could become a useful tool for dating Ren’s work and identifying counterfeits.

¹ See Chapter 5, p. 206 and Fig. 197.



This seal began to be used in 1879 (Fig. 14a). Through frequent usage, the right edge had become quite worn by 1881 (Fig. 14b). By 1883, the right part of the character “Ren” could hardly be seen (Fig. 14c). After the beginning of 1884, the right part of “Ren” disappeared completely (Fig. 14d). Therefore, works which bear an undamaged imprint (Fig. 14a) but which are dated after 1881 shall be questionable. Examples are “Creeper and Bird 藤羅小鳥” (1881) and “Peach Blossoms and Swallows 桃花燕子” (1883).

We find the composition of the seal “Ren Bonian” (Fig. 15) on the painting “Creeper and Bird” (Fig. 17), is so closely similar to the authentic “Ren Bonian” (Fig. 14a, seal on the painting ‘Transmitting Poetry — Portrait of Chen Honggao and Chen Huijuan’, 1879, Tianjin People’s Publisher of Fine Art) that one would easily ignore the slight difference: on the left part of “Ren 任” (Fig. 16): the space between the two strokes is wider than that of the Fig. 14a. It is also worth noting that following the inscription, there appeared another seal “Ren Yi 任頤” (Fig. 16) in intaglio which is seen only in the “Creeper and Bird” and nowhere else.



Although the boneless style was one of Ren Bonian’s specialties in the 1880s, considering the painting itself, the colouring technique seems to be rather immature. Comparing this 1881 painting (Fig. 17) with another fan painting of flower and bird also in boneless style (Fig. 18), the opaque white seems to melt

into red pigment more subtly and harmoniously in the latter. As the painter freely applied wet dots and darker pigments onto the branches, the 1880 painting presents a lively effect through various degrees of tonality, whereas the brushwork and water dots in the 1881 painting seem to be too cautiously done. The bird in Fig. 17 has a curiously dislocated appearance, the head is not well connected to the body and the feet are too far down the branch. In Fig. 18 the bird is partly hidden behind the foliage but the head is set nicely above the breast feathers — he seems to fill the space very comfortably. Fig. 17 does not try to show a moon and sky colour so the painting looks very empty.



Fig. 17 Attr. Ren Bonian, Creeper and Bird 1881, Fan mounted as album leaf,

ink and colour on silk, collection unknown.
Source: *Ren Bonian jingpinji*, China Art Gallery ed., Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1995, plate 125



Fig. 18 Ren Bonian, Flower, Moon and Bird 1880, Fan mounted as album leaf, Diameter/25cm,

ink and colour on silk, China Art Gallery.
Source: *Ren Bonian huaji*, Dong Yulong & Hu Mengyan ed., Zhejiang: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994, plate 34

The calligraphy in “Creeper and Bird”, such as “Guangxu 光緒” (Fig. 19, “Creeper and Bird”, detail of inscription, 1881) are relatively spiky and bony in

comparison to the calligraphy in “Parrot and Flowers” (Fig. 20, detail of inscription, 1881, Folding fan mounted as album leaf, ink and colour on silk, Tianjin People’s Publisher of Fine Art. Source: Ren Bonian, Guo Xueshi & Mu Meihua ed., Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1996, plate 52). The vertical stroke of “Ren 壬” of “Ren 任” ends with a small hook which is abnormal (Fig. 21; Fig. 22). Lastly, when we return to consider Ren Bonian’s habitual use of seal, Ren generally pressed only one seal tailing after the end of the inscription or to the left of the last character if there was not enough space underneath it in his silk fan paintings. But in this 1881 painting, one seal is in the lower right corner and the other is stamped surprisingly on the left margin between the characters “Nian 年” and “Ren 任”. Therefore, both the 1881 fan painting itself and the two seals on it are questionable.



in
Fig. 19
Flowers”.



Fig. 20

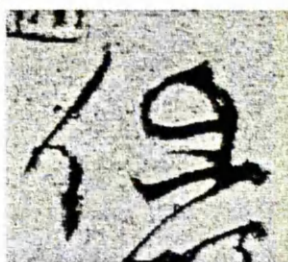


Fig. 21 Signature in
“Creeper and Bird”.

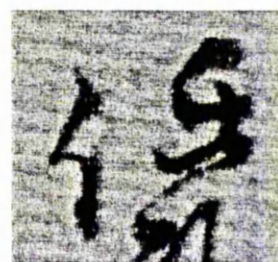


Fig. 22 Signature
“Parrot and

In addition to identifying counterfeits, knowledge of seals could provide helpful information of the painter’s relationship with seal artists. In the case of Ren Bonian, a number of his seals were made by Wu Changshuo 吳昌碩 (1844~1927). These seals are “Ren Qianqiu 任千秋” (No. 33), “Shanyin Ren Yi 山陰任頤” (No. 37), “Shanyin daoshang xingzhe Yi” 山陰道上行者頤 (No. 40), “Ren Bonian yi changnian 任伯年宜長年” (No. 47), “Hua nu 畫奴” (No. 48),

“Ren ya 任押” (No. 50), “Ren heshang 任蘇尚” (No. 53), “Ren Yi zhi yin 任頤之印” (No. 58), “Bonian 伯年” (No. 59, in relief), “Bonian 伯年” (No. 61, in intaglio), Shanyin Ren 山陰任” (No. 71) and “Bonian guoyan 伯年過眼” (No. 72). According to Wu Dongmai 吳東邁, the son of Wu Changshuo, Wu was already friendly with Ren Bonian and went to see him everyday. Although we are not able to name an exact date when they made acquaintance, we find the earliest example of the seal “Ren Qianqiu 任千秋” in a 1880 painting which echoes Wu Dongmai’s account of their meeting before 1880, three years before their meeting was recorded in the first portrait that Ren made for Wu in 1883.





















The number of seals Wu made for Ren not only confirms their friendship, but the interesting text of the imprints, such as “Hua n 畫奴” (Slave of painting) also suggests that Ren was so much occupied by the great demand for his work that he could not paint leisurely or even creatively. It might also explain why Ren Bonian often repeatedly painted some standard compositions or subjects in his existing messy productions of later years.


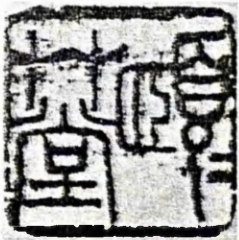


















My study of Ren Bonian’s seals is based on the forty-three seals collected in the *Zhongguo shuhuajia yinjian kuanshi* 中國書畫家印鑑款識 (Index of seal and signature of Chinese painters and calligraphers)², and on 58 seals collected in Wang Yuntian’s “Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考”.³ Examining around one thousand paintings attributed to Ren Bonian, here I gather an index of seventy-three seals, list of sources, and chronological charts of the use of each seal.

² Edited by Shanghai Museum, published by Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1996










³ Wang Yuntian, “Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考” (Seals frequently used by Ren Bonian) *Shanghai bowuguan jikan* 上海博物館集刊 (Shanghai Museum Bulletin), No. 7, 1996, pp. 233~247.

INDEX: SEALS OF REN BONIAN

1. Shangyin Ren Run Ciyuan fu yinxin 山陰任潤次遠甫印信 	2. Ren Run zhiyun 任潤之印 	3. Yi yin 頤印 	4. Yi yin 頤印 
5. Ren 任 	6. Ren shi Xiaolou 任氏小樓 	7. Ren Yi yin 任頤印 	8. Ren Yi changshou 任頤長壽 
9. Ren Yi siyin 任頤私印 	10. Yi yin 頤印 	11. Yi yin 頤印 	12. Ren Yi yinxin 任頤印信 
13. Ren Bonian 任伯年 	14. Ren Yi zhiyin 任頤之印 	15. Yi yin 頤印 	16. Yi yin 頤印 
17. Yi yin 頤印 	18. Ren Yi zhiyin 任頤之印 	19. Ren Yi yinxin changshou 任頤印信長壽 	20. Ren Yi zhiyin 任頤之印 

<p>21. Ren Yi yin 任頤印</p> 	<p>22. Yi Yi caotang 頤頤草堂</p> 	<p>23. Yi yin 頤印</p> 	<p>24. Yi yin 頤印</p> 
<p>25. Yi yin 頤印</p> 	<p>26. Ren Yi zhiyin 任頤之印</p> 	<p>27. Ren Yi Bonian 任頤伯年</p> 	<p>28. Ren Bonian 任伯年</p> 
<p>29. Ren Yi yinxin 任頤印信</p> 	<p>30. Bonian changshou yinxin 伯年長壽印信</p> 	<p>31. Ren Bonian 任伯年</p> 	<p>32. Ren Bonian 任伯年</p> 
<p>33. Ren Qianqiu 任千秋</p>  <p>By Wu Changshou</p>	<p>34. Bonian 伯年</p> 	<p>35. Yi yin 頤印</p> 	<p>36. Ren Yi changshou 任頤長壽</p> 
<p>37. Shanyin Ren Yi 山陰任頤</p>  <p>By Wu Changshuo</p>	<p>38. Bonian 伯年</p> 	<p>39. Bonian dali 伯年大利</p> 	<p>40. Shanyin daoshang xingzhe Yi 山陰道上行 者頤</p>  <p>By Wu Changshuo</p>

41. Ren Yi yinxin 任頤印信 	42. Ren Bonian 任伯年 	43. Yinxin shi 印心石 	44. Ren shi 任氏 
45. Yi yin 頤印 	46. Ren Yi zhiyin 任頤之印 	47. Ren Bonian yi chang nian 任伯年宜長年  By Wu Changshuo	48. Hua nu 畫奴  By Wu Changshuo
49. Bonian 伯年 	50. Ren 任  By Wu Changshuo	51. Yi yin 頤印 	52. Shanyin daoshang xingzhe 山陰道上行者 
53. Ren Heshang 任蘇尙  By Wu Changshuo	54. Bonian changshou 伯年長壽 	55. Ren Gongzi 任公子 	56. Ren Yi zhiyin 任頤之印 
57. Bonian 伯年 	58. Ren Yi zhiyin 任頤之印  By Wu Changshuo	59. Bonian 伯年  By Wu Changshuo	60. Ren Yi zhiyin 任頤之印 
61. Bonian 伯年  By Wu Changshuo	62. Ren Yi mogu 任頤摹古 (in relief) 	63. Shanyin Ren shi 山陰任氏 (in relief) 	64. Bonian 伯年 

<p>65. Ciyuan shuhua 次遠書畫 (in intaglio)</p> 	<p>66. Xiaolou 小樓</p> 	<p>67. Yi yin 頤印</p> 	<p>68. Yixiao 一笑</p> 
<p>69. Bonian hanmo 伯年翰墨</p> 	<p>70. Bonian 伯年</p> 	<p>71. Shanyin Ren 山陰任</p>  <p>By Wu Changshuo</p>	<p>72. Bonian guoyan 伯年過眼</p>  <p>By Wu Changshuo</p>
<p>73. Ren Run 任潤</p>  <p>By Ren Jinqian</p>			

SEALS USED BY REN BONIAN

*Seals found in Ren Bonian's bird-and-flower, landscape and figure paintings:

1. Shan Yin Ren Jun Ci Yuan Fu Yin Xin 山陰任潤次遠甫印信



1865 Age 26

Figures after Chen Hongshou 仿陳老蓮人物 (1865/3)

2. Ren Jun Zhi Yin 任潤之印



1865 Age 26

Lady among Apricot Blossom 玉樓人醉杏花天 (1865/1)

3. Yi Yin 頤印



1866 Age 27

Parting at Xiaojia River 小浹江話別圖 (1866/5)

4. Yi yin 頤印



1866 Age 27

Lady among Plum Blossoms 梅花仕女 (1866/6)

1867 Age 28

Three Chivalrous Travellers after Xiao Yuncong 風塵三俠 (1867/10)

5. Ren 任



1866 Age 27

Figure Painting 人物散頁 (1866/8)

1877 Age 38 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

1885 Age 46 Landscape after a Poem by the Ruler of Shu 蜀主詞意 (1885/231)

6. Ren Shih Xiao Lou 任氏小樓



1867 Age 28 Three Chivalrous Travellers after Xiao Yuncong 風塵三俠 (1867/10)

Pine, Crane, Orchid and Rock Painted in Cooperation with Ren Xun 與任薰合作松鶴蘭石圖軸

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Suzhou Museum

1868 Age 29 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

Undated Landscape 山水圖

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 132 x 31.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

7. Ren Yi Yin 任頤印



1868 Age 29 Goldfish and Water Grass 金魚水草

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery

1869 Age 30 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

1870 Age 31 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

1871 Age 32 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

1872 Age 33 Playing *xiao* on a Boat 遊艇吟簫 (1872/38)

1873 Age 34 Lotus and Egret 殘荷鷺鷥

Folding fan, ink and colour on paper, 25 x 53 cm, China Art Gallery

1875 Age 36 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

- 1877 Age 38 Flowers and a Bird 息禽圖
Folding fan, ink and colour on gold-foiled paper, 19 x 52.5 cm, Nanjing Museum
- Morning Glories and Quail 牽牛鵪鶉
Folding fan, ink and colour on paper, 23.5 x 50 cm, China Art Gallery
- Portrait of Jiang Shi-Nong Under A Banana Tree 姜石農小像 (1877/66)
- 1878 Age 39 Lady 仕女紈扇 (1878/95)
- Drunk Demon 醉鍾馗 (1878/86)
- 1879 Age 40 Lotus and Bulbuls 芙蓉白頭翁
Folding fan, ink and colour on paper, 23.5 x 50 cm, China Art Gallery
- Melon 瓜瓞綿綿
Fan, ink and colour on paper, Diameter/25 cm, China Art Gallery
- Searching for Plums in the Snow 踏雪尋梅 (1879/100)
- 1880 Age 41 Portrait of Zhang Yi-San 張益三肖像 (1880/124)
- 1883 Age 44 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考".
- 1885 Age 46 Autumn Breath in Mao-Ling 白描茂陵秋風
Sketch, ink on paper, 28 x 18 cm, China Art Gallery
- Landscape After Emperor Shu's Poem 蜀主詞意 (1885/231)
- Flower Painting 花卉冊十二開
The third, sixth and ninth leaves of an album of 12 leaves, ink and colour on paper, Nanjing Museum
- 1886 Age 47 Riding on the Cloud-Capped Mountain 雲山策馬 (1886/237)
- Night Travelling at Cheng-tian Temple 承天夜遊 (1886/241)

- 1887 Age 48 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"
- 1888 Age 49 White Cat and Two Sparrows 白貓雙雀
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 94.3 x 32.6, Tianjin Art Gallery
- Undated Lotus 香遠亦清
Fan, ink and colour on silk, 28 x 27.6 cm, Nanjing Museum

8. Ren Yi Chang Shou 任頤長壽



- 1868 Age 29 Portrait of Liu Sheng 榴生小像 (1868/20)
- Parting at Dongjin 東津話別圖 (1868/17)
- 1877 Age 38 Celebrating the New Year 歲朝圖
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 109.5 x 30.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Bamboo, Chrysanthemum and Quails 四季平安圖
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 133.8 x 65.6 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Crossing the Bridge in the Rain 風雨渡橋 (1877/79)
- 1878 Age 39 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

9. Ren Yi Si Yin 任頤私印



- 1868 Age 29 Enjoying Plum Blossoms 鬥梅圖 (1868/15)
- Bird and Flower 花鳥通景屏
Four Hanging scrolls, ink and colour on paper, 90.5 x 169 cm, Zhejiang

Provincial Museum

- 1870 Age 31 Geese 新秋浴鵝
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 150.2 x 39.7 cm, Nanjing Museum
- 1872 Age 33 *According to Wang Yuntian's Account
- 1873 Age 34 Portrait of Ge Zhonghua at the Age of Twenty-Seven 葛仲華二十七歲小像 (1873/43).
- 1874 Age 35 Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊 (1874/48)
- 1875 Age 36 Two Pigeons 雙鴿圖
Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, 41.5 x 61 cm, Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art
- 1878 Age 39 Old Fisherman on the Spring River 春江漁父 (1878/93)
- 1885 Age 46 Portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Zhao De-Chang 趙德昌夫婦像 (1885/195)
- 1888 Age 49 Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 183.2 x 47 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- 1889 Age 50 Leopard Cat Catching a Turtledove 狸貓禽鳩
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 92.7 x 48.3 cm, Suzhou Museum
- Family of Letters 世代書香 (1889/313)
- Night Travelling at the Red Cliff 赤壁夜遊 (1889/311)
- Magu Offering Her Birthday Wishes 麻姑獻壽 (1889/306)
- Li Guang Shooting the Stone 李廣射石 (1889/312)
- 1891 Age 52 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

1892 Age 53

Zhong Kui 鍾馗 (1892/355)

10. Yi Yin 顧印



1868 Age 27

Portrait of Sha Fu at the Age of Thirty-Nine 沙馥三十九歲小像
(1868/21).

1873 Age 34

Morning Glories and Calamus 牽牛菖蒲

Fan, ink and colour on silk, Diameter/25 cm, China Art Gallery

1881 Age 42

Willow and Double Horses 柳前雙馬圖

Folding fan, ink and colour on paper, 18,5 x 52.7cm, Nanjing Museum

1882 Age 43

Album of Flower, Bird and Figure 花鳥人物圖冊十二開 (1882/163)

The second to the five leaves of an album, ink and colour on paper, 31.5 x 36 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

1883 Age 44

Carrying a Qin to Visit a Friend 攜琴訪友 (1883/170)

1885 Age 46

Riverbank of Wansha 浣紗石

Sketch, ink and colour on paper, 28 x 18 cm, China Art Gallery

Bamboo House by the West River 西江竹樓

Sketch, ink and colour on paper, 28 x 18 cm, China Art Gallery

Landscape After Brushwork of Ding Yunpeng 丁雲鵬筆意

Sketch, ink and colour on paper, 28 x 18 cm, China Art Gallery

Listening to Cicadas in Autumn 秋聲賦 (1885/222)

Dropping a Hat on Mount Long 龍山落帽 (1885/225)

Offering Incense to Heaven 焚香誥天 (1885/224)

Landscape after a Poem by the Ruler of Shu 蜀主詞意 ((1885/231)

1888 Age 49 Ladies 仕女圖冊十二幀 (1888/282)

11. Yi Yin 顧印



1869 Age 30 Lady 仕女圖
No size given, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum

1870 Age 31 Nongyu 弄玉 (1870/32)

Geese 新秋浴鵝

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 150.2 x 39.7 cm, Nanjing Museum

1871 Age 32 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考".

1872 Age 33 Congratulations on the Official Promotion 加官晉爵 (1872/36)

1873 Age 34 Hollyhock and Two Chickens 葵花雙雞
Folding fan, ink and colour on paper, 23.5 x 50 cm, China Art Gallery

Figure Painting 人物冊頁二 (1873/46)

1874 Age 35 Bird and Flower 折枝花鳥扇面
Folding fan mounted as album leaf, ink and colour on paper, 18.7 x 51.3 cm, Nanjing Museum

12. Ren Yi Yin Xin 任頤印信



1872 Age 33 Zhong Kui 鍾馗 (1872/40)
Paying Homage to Buddha 禮佛圖 (1872/37)

1874 Age 35 Female Immortal 女仙圖 (1874/55)

Three Goats 三羊開泰

169.7 x 92.7 cm, ink and colour on paper, Nanjing Museum

1877 Age 38

Portrait of Jiang Shinong under a Banana Tree 姜石農小像 (1877/66)

Figure and Peacock 雀屏中選 (1877/73)

1879 Age 40

Crane and Deer 綏山鶴鹿

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 177.2 x 93.6 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

13. Ren Bonian 任伯年



1872 Age 33

Paying Homage to Buddha 禮佛圖 (1872/37)

Bringing Auspicious Wishes 獻瑞圖 (1872/39)

1873 Age 34

Pine Tree and Crane 松鶴壽柏

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 175.8 x 94.2 cm, Nanjing Museum

Three Lions 三獅圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 147.5 x 54 cm, Nanjing Museum

1874 Age 35

Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊 (1874/48)

Female Immortal 女仙圖 (1874/55)

1875 Age 36

Flowers and Birds 花鳥圖冊十二開

The second and eighth leave of the album, ink and colour on paper, 30.6 x 36 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

1876 Age 37

Walking with a Cane in an Autumn Mountain 秋山策杖圖 (1876/63)

1877 Age 38

Bamboo, Chrysanthemum and Quails 四季平安圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 133.8 x 65.6 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Portrait of Jiang Shinong at the age of Fifty (Sitting on a Rock) 姜石農五十歲小像 (1877/65).

Portrait of He Yi-Cheng at the age of Fifty-One 何以誠五十一歲肖像 (1877/69).

1878 Age 39

Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠 (1878/91)

Zhong Kui Killing a Fox 鍾馗斬狐圖 (1878/88)

Zhong Kui Catching a Ghost 鍾馗捉鬼圖 (1878/89)

Two Geese under a Banana Tree 芭蕉雙鵝

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 114.3 x 63 cm, Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art

1880 Age 41

*Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

14. Ren Yi Zhi Yin 任頤之印



1872 Age 33

Narcissi and Flying Birds 水仙飛禽

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 145 x 39 cm, China Art Gallery

1873 Age 34

*Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

Undated

Zhong Kui Sitting on a Rock 鍾馗圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum

15. Yi Yin 頤印



1871 Age 32

Two Immortals 二仙圖 (1871/34)

- 1872 Age 33 Banana Tree and Hen 蕉花母雞
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 172.5 x 65.5 cm, Tianjin People's
Publisher of Fine Art
- Peony and Butterflies 芍藥蝴蝶
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 163.5 x 46.4 cm, Nanjing
Museum
- Zhong Kui 鍾馗 (1872/40)
- Bringing Auspicious Wishes 獻瑞圖 (1872/39)
- 1873 Age 34 Pine Tree and Crane 松鶴壽柏
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 175.8 x 94.2 cm, Nanjing
Museum
- 1874 Age 35 Zhong Kui 鍾馗 (1874/52)
- 1875 Age 36 Flowers and Birds 花鳥圖冊十二開
The first, second and eighth leave of the Album, ink and colour on paper,
30.6 x 36 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- 1878 Age 39 Zhong Kui Killing a Fox 鍾馗斬狐圖 (1878/88)
- Zhong Kui Catching a Ghost 鍾馗捉鬼圖 (1878/89)
- Portrait of Wu Gan 吳淦肖像 (1878/92)
- Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠 (1878/91)
- 1879 Age 40 Lotus and Two Chickens 芙蓉雙雞
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 150 x 39.5 cm, Central Academy
of Art
- 1881 Age 41 Bird and Figure 花鳥人物圖冊十二開
The eighth and ninth leaves of the album, ink and colour on paper, 31.5 x
36 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

1882 Age 42

Bird and Figure 花鳥人物圖冊十二開 (1882/163)

16. Yi Yin 顧印



1874

Peony and Singing Birds 芍藥鳴禽

Fan mounted as album leaf, ink and colour on paper, 23.5 x 50 cm, China Art Gallery

17. Yi Yin 顧印



1875 Age 36

Flower and Bird 花鳥圖冊十二開

The fourth and fifth leaves of the album, ink and colour on silk, 30.6 x 36 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

1876 Age 37

Walking with a Cane in an Autumn Mountain 秋山策杖圖 (1876/63)

1877 Age 38

Chrysanthemum and Melon 野菊甜瓜

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 18 x 52 cm, China Art Gallery

Portrait of He Yi-Cheng at the age of Fifty-One 何以誠五十一歲肖像 (1877/69).

Portrait of Jiang Shinong at the age of Fifty (Sitting on a Rock) 姜石農五十歲小像 (1877/65).

1878 Age 39

Flower and Bird 花鳥

Album leaf, ink and colour on silk, 34 x 38.6 cm, Zhenjiang Antique Shop

Two Geese under a Banana Tree 芭蕉雙鵝

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 114.3 x 63 cm, Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art

1879 Age 40

Gan Mo Forging a Sword 干莫煉劍 (1879/103)

- 1880 Age 41 Singing Birds 枝頭鳴禽
Folding fan mounted as album leaf, ink and colour on paper, 18 x 52 cm, Nanjing Museum
- Broken Branches and Double Sparrows 折枝雙雀
Folding fan mounted as album leaf, ink and colour on gold foiled paper, 18.8 x 52.8 cm, Nanjing Museum
- Travellers 行旅圖 (1880/110)
- 1881 Age 42 Chrysanthemum and Crabs 菊蟹圖
Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, 32.5 x 134 cm, Guangdong Provincial Museum
- Dipping Foot in the Water 山澗濯足
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 111 x 45.6 cm, Painting Academy of Shanghai
- 1882 Age 43 Pelargoniums and Bulbuls 天竹白頭
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 179.7 x 47.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Phoenix and Wutong Tree 梧桐雙鳳
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 112 x 44.8 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠 (182/159)
- 1883 Age 44 Wisteria and Pheasant 紫綬金章
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 81 x 35 cm, China Art Gallery
- Rooster, Flower and Rock 雄雞花石
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134.7 x 32.8 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Reeds and Birds 蘆花禽鳥
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134.7 x 32.8 cm, Palace Museum,

Beijing

Weeping Willow and Swallows 風柳群燕

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 152.5 x 40 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Bean Flowers and Mandarin Ducks 豆花鴛鴦

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134.7 x 32.8 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Peach Flower and Birds 桃花白雞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 149.5 x 80.5 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

1884 Age 45

Cats 貓戲圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 160 x 58.8 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Morning Glory 凌霄圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 159.5 x 58.7 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

1885 Age 46

Wisteria 藤花

The second leaf of an album, ink and colour on paper, 29 x 42 cm, China
Art Gallery

1886 Age 47

Mina after Bada Shanren 臨八大山人八哥圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 89.3 x 44.6 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Three Immortals 三仙圖 (1886/253)

Pine Tree, Crane, Bamboo and Rock 松鶴竹石

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134.4 x 66.7 cm, Tianjin Art
Gallery

1887 Age 48

Recluse in the Wintry Forest 寒林高士 (1887/267)

Two Children Playing with Crackers 雙童鬥蟋蟀 (1887/257)

1888 Age 49

Herding Horse in the Wintry Forest 寒林牧馬 (1888/293)

Willow and Pond 柳塘清趣

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134 x 40 cm, China Art Gallery

Undated

Picture of No Scent 無香味圖 (N.D./439)

18. Ren Yi Zhi Yin 任頤之印



1875 Age 36

Chrysanthemum and Crabs 菊蟹圖卷

Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum

19. Ren Yi Chang Shou Yin Xin 任頤長壽印信

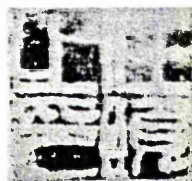


1876 Age 37

God of Literature 魁星圖 (1876/61)

Zhi Dun Caring for a Horse 支遁愛馬 (1876/62)

20. Ren Yi Zhi Yin 任頤之印



1877 Age 38

Wisteria and Double Ducks 紫藤雙鴨

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 176 x 46.2 cm, Central Academy of Art, Beijing

Bamboo in Red Ink 硃竹圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 135.5 x 66 cm, Guangdong Provincial Museum

Three Goats 三羊圖

Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, 79 x 147.5 cm, China Art Gallery

Carrying on the Glory 丹桂五芳 (1877/78)

21. Ren Yi Yin 任頤印



1877 Age 38

Bamboo, Chrysanthemum and Quails 四季平安圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery

1880 Age 41

Peony 牡丹

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 148 x 80 cm, China Art Gallery

Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊圖 (1880/122)

Zhong Kui after the style of Jin Nong 仿金農鍾馗圖 (1880/117)

1882 Age 43

Flower and Dog 花蔭小犬

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 180 x 47.8 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Mi Fu Paying Homage to the Rock 米顛拜石 (1882/157)

Looking at the Stream 溪山觀泉 (1882/155)

1883 Age 44

Narcissi and Double Pheasants 水仙雙雉

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 105.7 x 47 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery

Peach and Double Swallows 桃實雙燕

Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, 58.5 x 115 cm, Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art

Wisteria and Pheasant 紫綬金章

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 81 x 35 cm, China Art Gallery

Pelargonium and Silver Pheasant 天竹白鷄圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 152.5 x 40 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

1884 Age 45

Flower and Bird 花鳥圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 159.8 x 58.6 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Bean Trellis and Birds 豆架雙雞圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 160 x 59cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Wisteria and Birds 紫藤雙鳥

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 159.7 x 58.8 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Loquat 枇杷

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 129 x 56.5 cm, Xu Beihong
Memorial Gallery

Azalea and Birds 杜鵑雙雀

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 159.5 x 58.7 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Peony on the Rock 富貴壽考

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 160 x 59 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Nine Egrets 九思圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 160 x 59 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Green Peach Trees and Spring Swallows 碧桃春燕

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 136.8 x 33 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Plum and Bamboo 梅竹雙清

- Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 133.5 x 32.9 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Loquat, Cat and Sparrows 枇杷貓雀
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 136 x 32 cm, China Art Gallery
- 1885 Age 46 Flowers in Ancient Bronze Wares 古彝花卉
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 172.5 x 86.6 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery
- Still Life 天中五端
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 135.5 x 39 cm, Guangdong Provincial Museum
- 1886 Age 47 Peach Tree, Rock and Birds 桃石群鳥
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 160 x 59 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Peach Flowers and Birds 桃花鵲鵲
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 137 x 65 cm, Nanjing Museum
- Reeds and Ducks 蘆鴨圖
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 160.2 x 58.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Riding on the Cloud – Capped Mountain 雲山策馬 (1886/237)
- 1888 Age 49 Loquat and Lotus 午瑞圖
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 34 x 124.7 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- 1889 Age 50 *Wang Yuntian, “Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考”
- 1890 Age 51 Peach 蟠桃綬帶
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum
- 1891 Age 52 Cat and Duck 花貓捕鴨

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery

A Couple of Deer 雙鹿圖

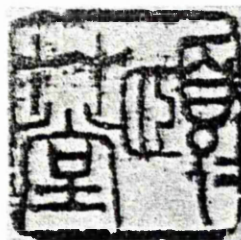
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134.6 x 65.2 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery

1893 54 歲

Bird and Flower 秋圃得禽

Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, Zheng Qiaozhi 鄭喬志, Singapore

22. Yi Yi Cao Tang 頤頤草堂



1877 Age 38

Bamboo, Chrysanthemum and Quails

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery

1881 Age 42

Purple Wisteria 紫藤圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 152 x 39.8 cm, Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art

1887 Age 48

Pine and Roosters 松雞圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 198 x 49 cm, Central Academy of Art

Celebrating the New Year 歲朝圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 128.5 x 66.5 cm, Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art

Zhong Kui 鍾馗 (1887/269)

1888 Age 49

Golden Grain Garden 金谷園 (1888/278)

Wang Xizhi Observing the Geese 羲之觀鵝 (1888/283)

Zhong Kui Reading a Book 鍾馗讀書圖 (1888/289)

1890 Age 51

Lotus and Egret 荷花鸕鷀

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on gold-foiled paper, 153 x 41 cm, China
Art Gallery

Bamboo and Birds 翠竹幽禽

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on gold-foiled paper, 153 x 41 cm, China
Art Gallery

Pine Tree and Crane 松蔭立鶴

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on gold-foiled paper, 153 x 41 cm, China
Art Gallery

Wisteria and Birds 紫藤栖禽

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong
Memorial Gallery

Loquat and Chicken 枇杷群雞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong
Memorial Gallery

Lotus and Ducks 芙蓉群鴨

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong
Memorial Gallery

Xu You Washing His Ears 許由洗耳 (1890/316)

1891 Age 52

Palm and Chicken 棕櫚三雞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on gold-foiled paper, 215 x 49 cm, China
Art Gallery

Peony and Peacock 牡丹孔雀

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on gold-foiled paper, 215 x 49 cm, China
Art Gallery

Zhong Kui with a Fan 墨筆破扇鍾馗 (1891/335)

Zhong Kui with a Fan 墨筆破扇鍾馗 (1891/336)

1892 Age 53

Peach, Yulan Magnolia and Birds 玉堂春曉

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134 x 65.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Rose, Cat and Rock 月季貓石

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134.6 x 48.2 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

1893 Age 54

Zhong Kui in Red Ink 硃筆鍾馗 (1893/374)

23. Yi Yin 顧印



1877 Age 38

Landscape 山水圖

Hanging scroll, Ink and colour on paper, 147.5 x 39 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

24. Yi Yin 顧印



1877 Age 38

Bird and Flower 折枝花鳥扇面

Folding fan mounted as album leaf, ink and colour on paper, 18 x 51.9 cm, Nanjing Museum

25. Yi Yin 顧印



1978

Flower and Bird 秋棠文禽

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 130 x 76 cm, Duoyunxuan, Shanghai

1881 Age 42

Flower and Double Birds 海棠雙鳥

Folding fan, ink and colour on silk, Tianjin Art Gallery

Parrot and Plum 鸚鵡臘梅

Folding fan, ink and colour on silk, Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art

Wisteria and Two Roosters 紫藤雙雞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 140 x 41.8 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Composing a Poem While Riding a Donkey 驢背思詩 (1881/136-2)

Fishing in Fuchun River 富春垂釣 (1881/136-4)

1882 Age 43

Two Birds and Peaches 桃實雙禽

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 141 x 80 cm, China Art Gallery

Album of Bird and Flower Paintings 雜畫卷

Leaf 1 and leaf 3, ink and colour on paper, 39.5 x 72.3 cm, Tianjin Art
Gallery

1883 Age 44

Portrait of Zhao Xiaoyun 趙嘯雲像 (1883/169)

Palm and Birds 棕櫚雞圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 152.5 x 40 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Lotus and Ducks 荷鴨圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 152.5 x 40 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

1885 Age 46

Chicken and flower 日利大利

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 97.9 x 44.3 cm, Nanjing Museum

Lotus, after Lu You's Poem 陸游詩意

Handscroll, Ink and colour on silk, 27.3 x 40.5 cm, Tianjin People's
Publisher of Fine Art

1887 Age 48

Monkey 封侯圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 133 x 32 cm, China Art Gallery

1888 Age 49 Golden Grain Garden 金谷園圖 (1888/284)

Sparrows Among Wisteria 雀聲藤影

80 x 39.3 cm, Ink and colour on paper, Nanjing Museum

1889 Age 50 Rosy Clouds from the East 紫氣東來 (1889/303)

A Leopard Cat with Bamboo and Rock 狸貓竹石

No size given, ink and colour on paper, Suzhou Museum

26. Ren Yi Zhi Yin 任頤之印



1878 Age 39 Peony, Birds and Rock 牡丹鳥石

Folding fan, ink and colour on paper, Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art

27. Ren Yi Bo Nian 任頤伯年



1879 Age 40 Peony and Doves 牡丹鸚鵡

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 145 x 39 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery

1880 Age 41 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

1881 Age 42 Autumn Chrysanthemum and a Crab 秋菊紫蟹

Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, 18.6 x 52 cm, Nanjing Museum

Pelargoniums and a Pheasant 天竹山雉

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Suzhou Museum

1882 Age 43 Fisherman 漁父圖 (1882/153)

1884 Age 45 Cats 貓戲圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 160 x 58.8 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

- 1885 Age 46 Auspicious Offerings 吉金清供
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 172.5 x 86.6 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery
- Peony 牡丹圖
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 132 x 48.6 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery
- 1886 Age 47 Asking for the Way to Taoyuan 桃源問津 (1886/243)
- 1889 Age 50 Herding 牧牛圖 (1889/305)
- 1890 Age 51 Wang Xizhi Caressing the Geese 羲之觀鵝 (1990/319)
- 1891 Age 52 Peach Flowers and Swallows 桃花雙燕
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 250 x 60 cm, China Art Gallery
- Flowers and Geese 花蔭浴鵝
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 215 x 49 cm, China Art Gallery

28. Ren Bo Nian 任伯年



- 1879 Age 40 Album by Xu Gu and Ren Bonian 虛谷任伯年合冊
Album leaves, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum

- 1888 Age 49 Herding 牧牛圖 (1888/294)

29. Ren Yi Yin Xin 任頤印信



- 1879 Age 40 Bamboo and Chicken 竹雞圖
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum

30. Bo Nian Chang Shou Yin Xin 伯年長壽印信



1879 Age 40

Peaches 桃實圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum

31. Ren Bo Nian 任伯年



1879~81



1881~83



1883~84



1884~91

1879 Age 40

Transmitting the Poetry, Portrait of Chen Honggao and Chen Huijuan 授詩圖 (陳鴻誥和陳慧娟像, 1879/98)

Bird, Flower, Insect and Fish 花鳥蟲魚團扇集錦

Twelve fans mounted as album leaves, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery

1880 Age 41

Swallows, Peach and Cypress Trees 桃柏雙燕

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 188 x 38.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Moon, Flowers and Birds 花月栖鳥

Fan, ink and colour on silk, Diameter/ 25 cm, China Art Gallery

Portrait of Shen Lu-Ting 沈蘆汀讀畫圖 (1880/109)

Portrait of Zhang Yi-San 張益三肖像 (1880/124)

1881 Age 42

Autumn Chrysanthemum and Crab 秋菊紫蟹

Fan mounted as album leaf, ink and colour on paper, 18.6 x 52 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Willow and Mina 楊柳八哥

Folding fan mounted as album leaf, ink and colour on paper, 23.5 x 52 cm, Nanjing Museum

Composing a Poem While Riding a Donkey 驢背得句 (1881/136-2)

Herd Boy and Buffalos 岸綠牛肥 (1881/136-1)

Huaisu Practising Calligraphy on Banana Leaves 綠天庵學書圖
(1881/136/3).

Fishing at Fuchun River 富春垂釣 (1881/136-4)

1882 Age 43

Peach Flowers and Parrot 梨花鸚鵡

Folding fan mounted as album leaf, ink and colour on gold foiled paper,
25 x 53 cm, China Art Gallery

1883 Age 44

Ducks and Pond 池塘睡鴨

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 118.5 x 40 cm, China Art Gallery

Peach and Double Swallows 桃實雙燕

Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, 58.5 x 115 cm, Tianjin People's
Publisher of Fine Art

Peach Flowers and Swallows 桃花雙燕

Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, 58.5 x 115 cm, China Art Gallery

Wisteria and Pheasant 紫綬金章

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 81 x 35 cm, China Art Gallery

Portrait of Zhao Xiao-Yun 趙嘯雲像 (1883/169)

Looking at the Deserted Land Solemnly 關河一望蕭索 (1883/177)

1884 Age 45

Azalea and Birds 杜鵑雙雀

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 159.5 x 58.7 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Green Peach Trees and Spring Swallows 碧桃春燕

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 136.8 x 33 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Landscape After Dong Yuan 仿董源山水

Folding fan mounted as album leaf, ink and colour on paper, Tianjin
People's Publisher of Fine Art

Loquat, Cat and Sparrows 枇杷貓雀

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 136 x 32 cm, China Art Gallery

Nine Egrets 九思圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 160 x 59 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Plum and Bamboo 梅竹雙清

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 133.5 x 32.9 cm, Palace
Museum, Beijing

Three Friends 三友圖 (1884/182)

1885 Age 46

Cat and Chrysanthemum 貓菊圖

Album leaf, ink and colour on paper, 29 x 42 cm, China Art Gallery

Chicken and flower 日利大利

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 97.9 x 44.3 cm, Nanjing Museum

Flowers 花卉冊

Album of twelve leaves, ink and colour on silk, 30 x 42.3 cm, Tianjin Art
Gallery

Wisteria and Swallows 紫藤雙燕

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 133 x 30 cm, China Art Gallery

Willow and Mina 柳蔭八哥

Album leaf, ink and colour on paper, 29 x 42 cm, China Art Gallery

Wisteria 藤花

Album leaf, ink and colour on paper, 29 x 42 cm, China Art Gallery

Birds Flying Over the River 溪流飛禽

Album leaf, ink and colour on paper, 29 x 42 cm, China Art Gallery

Rooster 雞

Album leaf, ink and colour on paper, 29 x 42 cm, China Art Gallery

Looking at the Deserted Land Solemnly 關河一望蕭索 (1885/204)

Lotus, after Lu You's Poem 陸游詩意

Handscroll, ink and colour on silk, 27.3 x 40.5 cm, Tianjin People's
Publisher of Fine Art

Piao-Mu Giving food to Han Xin 漂母食飯 (1885/229)

Han Xin Receiving an Insult 能出胯下 (1885/226)

Peach Flowers in the Rain 雨打梨花深閉門

Sketch, ink on Paper, 28 x 18 cm, China Art Gallery

1886 Age 47

Mina after Bada Shanren 臨八大山人八哥圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 89.3 x 44.6 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Peach Tree, Rock and Birds 桃石群鳥

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 160 x 59 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Reeds and Ducks 蘆鴨圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 160.2 x 58.5 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Singing Birds in the Spring 幽鳥鳴春

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 137.5 x 61.8 cm, Nanjing Museum

Loquat and Partridge 枇杷鷓鴣

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery

Peach Flowers and Birds 桃花鵲鸝

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 137 x 65 cm, Nanjing Museum

Looking at the Stream in the Mountain 深山觀泉 (1886/239)

Su Dong-Po Playing with the Ink-stone 東坡玩硯 (1886/234)

Riding on the Cloud-Capping Mountain 雲山策馬 (1886/237)

Night Travelling at Cheng-tian Temple 承天夜遊 (1886/241)

1887 Age 48

Peach and Goose 桃鵝圖

Handscroll, ink and colour on paper, 54.6 x 119.7 cm, Central Academy of Art

The River in Late Autumn 江上秋痕

Ink and colour on paper, Palace Museum, Beijing

Flower and Mina 萍花八哥

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 180 x 47.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Monkey 封侯圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 133 x 32 cm, China Art Gallery

Recluse in the Wintry Forest 寒林高士 (1887/267)

Two Children Playing with Crackers 雙童鬥蟋蟀 (1887/257)

1888 Age 49

Ladies 仕女圖冊 (1888/282)

[Wang] Xizhi Observing the Geese 羲之觀鵝 (1888/283)

Chan Practice 玉局參禪 (1888/279)

Broken Branches and Double Sparrows 折枝雙雀

Folding fan mounted as album leaf, ink and colour on gold foiled paper, 18.8 x 52.8 cm, Nanjing Museum

White Cat and Two Sparrows 白貓雙雀

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 94.3 x 32.6, Tianjin Art Gallery

Sparrows Among Wisteria 雀聲藤影

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 80 x 39.3 cm, Nanjing Museum

Narcissuses and Double Doves 水仙雙鴿

Fan, ink and colour on paper, Nanjing Museum

Willow and Pond 柳塘清趣

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134 x 40 cm, China Art Gallery

1889 Age 50

Leopard Cat Catching a Turtledove 狸貓禽鳩

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 92.7 x 48.3 cm, Suzhou Museum

Bird and Peaches 翎毛壽桃

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 133.8 x 65 cm, Guangdong Provincial Museum

Magu Offering Her Birthday Wishes 麻姑獻壽 (1889/206)

Night Travelling at the Red Cliff 赤壁夜遊 (1889/311)

Li Guang Shooting the Stone 李廣射石 (1889/312)

1890 Age 51

Landscape 淺絳山水

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 93 x 41 cm, Guangdong Provincial Museum

Autumn Flowers and Birds 秋卉雙禽

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on silk, 195.2 x 47.4 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Pelargoniums and Quails 天竹鷓鴣

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on silk, 195.2 x 47.4 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Magnolia and Peacock 玉蘭孔雀

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on silk, 195.2 x 47.4 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Willow and Mina 楊柳八哥

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 92.7 x 38.2 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Enjoying the Autumn Moon 中秋賞月

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 93 x 42 cm, China Art Gallery

Stream, Pavilion and Autumn Clouds 溪亭秋霽

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery

Peach 蟠桃壽蒂

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 132 x 64, China Art Gallery

Wisteria and Birds 紫藤栖禽

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong
Memorial Gallery

Tree and Birds 木棉鳴禽

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong
Memorial Gallery

Loquat and Chicken 枇杷群雞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong
Memorial Gallery

Flower and Pheasants 花間雉雞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong
Memorial Gallery

Lotus and Ducks 芙蓉群鴨

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong
Memorial Gallery

Reeds by the Autumn Pond 蒲塘秋艷

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong
Memorial Gallery

Boating at the Red Cliff 赤壁泛舟 (1890/322)

1891 Age 52

Pine and Partridge 蒼松鸕鷀

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 146.7 x 47.8 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Peony and Peacock 牡丹孔雀

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 215 x 49 cm, China Art Gallery

32. Ren Bo Nian 任伯年



1880 Age 41

Peony and Butterflies 牡丹蛱蝶

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 64.6 x 41.2 cm, Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art

1882 Age 43

Loquat and Chicken 枇杷雞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 179 x 48 cm, China Art Gallery

Flower and Banana 繡球芭蕉

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 179 x 48 cm, China Art Gallery

Two Birds and Peaches 桃實雙禽

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 141 x 80 cm, China Art Gallery

Zhong Kui Holding a Broken Fan 破扇鍾馗 (1882/161)

1883 Age 44

Rooster, Flower and Rock 雄雞花石

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134.7 x 32.8 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Su-Wu Herding the Sheep 蘇武牧羊 (1883/168)

1884 Age 45

Flower and Bird 花鳥圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 159.8 x 58.6 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Bean Trellis and Birds 豆架雙雞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 160 x 59 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Wisteria and Birds 紫藤雙鳥

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 159.7 x 58.8 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Under the Pine Tree 松下策杖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 135.1 x 64.6 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

1888 Age 49

Bamboo and Bird 靈竹山鳥

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 159.5 x 58.8 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Celebrating the New Year 歲時清賞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 131.5 x 61 cm, Central Academy
of Art, Beijing

Reeds and Birds 蘆花禽鳥

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134.7 x 32.8 cm, Palace Museum,
Beijing

Undated

Picture of No Scent 無香味圖 (N.D./439)

33. Ren Qian Qiu 任千秋 (carved by Wu Changshou)



1880 Age 41

Peony 牡丹

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 148 x 80 cm, China Art Gallery

1882 Age 43

Flowers 蘭蕙同芳

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Tianjin People's Publishing
House

1895 Age 56

Zhong Kui 鍾馗

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum

34. Bo Nian 伯年



1881 Age 42

Bird and Flower 花鳥扇頁

Folding fan mounted as album leaf, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum

1882 Age 43

Four Cats 四貓圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum

35. Yi Yin 頤印



1881 Age 42

Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊 (1881/141)

1882 Age 43

Flower, Bird and Figure 花鳥人物圖冊十二開 (1882/163)

1883 Age 44

*Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

1884 Age 45

Landscape After Dong Yuan 仿董源山水扇

Folding fan mounted as album leaf, ink on paper, Tianjin Art Gallery

36. Ren Yi Chang Shuo 任頤長壽



1877 Age 38

Bamboo, Chrysanthemum and Quails 四季平安圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 133.8 x 65.6 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

1882 Age 43

Watching the Child Playing 仕女嬰戲 (1882/149)

1884 Age 45

Peony and Crane 牡丹仙鶴

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 108 x 49.5 cm, Tianjin People's

Publisher of Fine Art

- 1885 Age 46 Album of 12 Flower Paintings 花卉冊十二開
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 30 x 42.3 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery
- Narcissuses and Double Birds 水仙雙禽
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 96.5 x 45 cm, Nanjing Museum

37. Shan Yin Ren Yi 山陰任頤 (Carved by Wu Changshuo)



- 1882 Age 43 Flowers 蘭蕙同芳
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art
- 1887 Age 48 Peach and Geese 桃鵝圖
Handscroll, ink and colour on silk, 54.6 x 119.7 cm, Central Academy of Art, Beijing
- Flower and Mina 萍花八哥
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 180 x 47.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- 1888 Age 49 Korean Pine and a Crane 紅松仙鶴
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 121 x 55 cm, Wuxi Museum
- 1889 Age 50 Bird and Peaches 翎毛壽桃
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 133.8 x 65 cm, Guangdong Provincial Museum
- 1890 Age 51 Magnolia and Peacock 玉蘭孔雀
Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on silk, 195.2 x 47.4 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Willow and Mina 楊柳八哥
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 92.7 x 38.2 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Enjoying the Autumn Moon 中秋賞月

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 93 x 42 cm, China Art Gallery

Stream, Pavilion and Autumn Clouds 溪亭秋靄

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery

Autumn Flowers and Birds 秋卉雙禽

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on silk, 195.2 x 47.4 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Pelargoniums and Quails 天竹鷓鴣

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on silk, 195.2 x 47.4 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Peach 蟠桃壽蒂

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 132 x 64 cm, China Art Gallery

Wisteria and Birds 紫藤栖禽

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong Memorial Gallery

Tree and Birds 木棉鳴禽

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong Memorial Gallery

Loquat and Chicken 枇杷群雞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong Memorial Gallery

Flower and Pheasants 花間雉雞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong Memorial Gallery

Lotus and Ducks 芙蓉群鴨

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong Memorial Gallery

Lotus and Egret 荷花鸞鷖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong
Memorial Gallery

Cassia and Ham 桂花母雞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on gold-foiled paper, 153 x 41 cm, China
Art Gallery

Willow, Geese and Pond 柳塘戲鵝

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong
Memorial Gallery

Reeds by the Autumn Pond 蒲塘秋艷

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong
Memorial Gallery

1891 Age 52

Palm and Chicken 棕櫚三雞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on gold-foiled paper, 215 x 49 cm, China
Art Gallery

Peony and Peacock 牡丹孔雀

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on gold-foiled paper, 215 x 49 cm, China
Art Gallery

38. Bo Nian 伯年



1882 Age 43

Portrait of Wu Chang and Guan Yu 文昌關羽像 (1882/146)

1885 Age 48

Flower 詩書合璧

Fan, ink and light colour on silk, Tianjin Art Gallery

39. Bo Nian Da Li 伯年大利



1882 Age 43

Watching the Child Playing 仕女嬰戲 (1882/149)

Fisherman 漁父 (1882/159-1)

- 1883 Age 44 Flower and a Bird 花鳥冊頁
Album of twelve leaves, ink and colour on silk, 26.5 x 27 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery
- 1884 Age 45 Lady 仕女圖 (1884/191)

Flowers 雜花冊頁
Album of six leave, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery

Peony and Crane 牡丹仙鶴
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 108 x 49.5 cm, Tianjin People's Publisher of Fine Art
- 1885 Age 46 Composing a Poem While Riding a Donkey 驢背思詩 (1885/212)

Flowers 花卉冊十二開
Album of twelve leaves, ink and colour on paper, 30 x 42.3 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery

Narcissuses and Double Birds 水仙雙禽
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper fan face, 96.5 x 45 cm, Nanjing Museum
- 1888 Age 50 Celebrating the New Year 歲朝清賞
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 131.5 x 61 cm, Central Academy of Art, Beijing
- 1891 Age 52 Pine and Partridge 蒼松鸚鵡
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 146.7 x 47.8 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

40. Shan Yin Dao Shang Xing Zhe Yi 山陰道上行者頌 (Carved by Wu Changshuo)



- 1882 Age 42 Peony and Sparrow 牡丹飛雀

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 97 x 53 cm, Xu Beihong
Memorial Gallery

1885 Age 46

Peony 牡丹圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 132 x 48.6 cm, Tianjin Art
Gallery

1886 Age 47

*Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

1890 Age 51

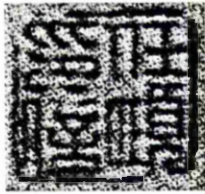
Peach 蟠桃綬帶

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum

Undated

Picture of No Scent 無香味圖 (N.D./439)

41. Ren Yi Yin Xin 任頤印信



1884 Age 45

A Lady Figure Standing Under the Wutong Tree 桐蔭仕女 (1884/184)

Undated

Lao Zi Giving Daoist Instruction 老子授經圖 (N.D./427)

42. Ren Bo Nian 任伯年

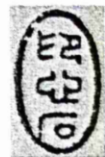


1884 Age 45

Flowers 雜花冊

The fourth and sixth leaves of an album, ink and colour on paper, China
Art Gallery

43. Yin Xin Shi 印心石



1885 Age 46

Looking at the Deserted Land Solemnly 關河一望蕭索 (1885/204)

44. Ren Shi 任氏



1889 Age 50

*Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

1890 Age 51

Landscape 淺絳山水

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 93 x 41 cm, Guangdong Provincial Museum

45. Yi Yin 顧印



1886 Age 47

Loquat and Partridge 枇杷鸕鷀

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery

46. Ren Yi Zhi Yin 任頤之印



1886 Age 47

*Collected in *Zhongguo shuhuajia yinjian kuanshi 中國書畫家印鑑款識*, Shanghai Museum ed., 1996.

1891 Age 52

Maple and Sparrows 紅楓鳴雀

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 130.5 x 63.8 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery

Peach, Yulan Magnolia and Birds 玉堂春曉

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134 x 65.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

47. Ren Bo Nian Yi Chang Nian 任伯年宜長年 (Carved by Wu Changshuo)



1887 Age 48

Pelargoniums and a White Cat 天竹白貓

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 135 x 47 cm, China Art Gallery

1888 Age 49

Korean Pine and a Crane 紅松仙鶴

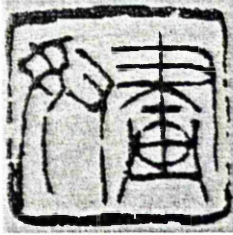
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 121 x 55 cm, Wuxi Museum

Riding Horse in the Wintry Forest 寒林牧馬 (1888/293)

1890 Age 51

*Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

48. Hua Nu 畫奴 (Carved by Wu Changshuo)



1887 Age 48

Pelargoniums and a White Cat 天竹白貓

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 135 x 47 cm, China Art Gallery

1890 Age 51

*Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

49. Bo Nian 伯年



1887 Age 48

Zhong Kui 鍾馗(1887/269)

1890 Age 51

*Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

1891 Age 52

Banana Trees and a White Chicken 芭蕉白雞圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 131.8 x 62.8 cm, Suzhou Museum

Magu Offering Her Birthday Wishes 麻姑獻壽圖 (1891/342)

Playing String Music at Mt. Dong 東山絲竹圖 (1891/341)

Zhong Kui 鍾馗 (1891/332)

Composing a Poem While Riding a Donkey 驢背尋詩 (1891/344)

Throwing the Pot 投壺圖 (1891/343)

- 1892 Age 53 Peony and Bulbul 白頭富貴
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 133.2 x 64.8 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Peach, Yulan Magnolia and Birds 玉堂春曉
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134 x 65.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Peach Flower and Birds 桃花白雞
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 149.5 x 80.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Listening to the Soughing Pines 聽松圖 (1892/352)
- Ducks Swimming in the Spring River 春江放鴨 (1892/369)
- Bamboo, Stream and Double Sparrows 竹澗雙雀
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery
- A Scholar in the Wood 林中高士扇面 (1892/368)
- Bathing the Horse 洗馬圖 (1892/353)
- Washing Clothes 浣紗圖 (1892/364)
- Fishing by the Autumn Forest 秋溪垂釣 (1892/365)
- Enjoying the Cool on the Willow Bank 柳蔭納涼圖卷 (1892/360)
- Lotus and Lady 採蓮仕女 (1892/363)
- 1893 Age 54 Gardening 歸田風趣
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134 x 66 cm, China Art Gallery
- 1894 Age 55 Wisteria and Mandarin Ducks 紫藤鴛鴦
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134.8 x 53.4 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

1895 Age 56 Cat and Chrysanthemum 貓菊圖
Fan, ink and colour on silk, Diameter/25 cm, China Art Gallery

Figures 人物冊三開 (1895/387)

49. Ren Ya 任狎 (Carved by Wu Changshuo)



1888 Age 49 Su Wu Herding Sheep 蘇武牧羊 (1888/276)

1889 Age 50 Night Travelling at the Red Cliff 赤壁夜遊 (1889/311)

1890 Age 51 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

51. Yi Yin 頤印



1888 Age 49 Wang Xizhi Observing the Geese 羲之觀鵝 (1888/283)

Cat and Bird 貓鳥圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 92.5 x 48.2 cm, Central Academy of Art

Nu Wa Forging the Stone 女媧煉石 (1888/280)

1889 Age 50 Magu Offering Her Birthday Wishes 麻姑獻壽 (1889/306)

52. Shan Yin Dao Shang Xing Zhe 山陰道上行者



1889 Age 50 A Leopard Cat with Bamboo and Rock 狸貓竹石

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 92.3 x 48.1 cm, Suzhou Museum

Herd Boy and Buffaloes 牧牛圖 (1889/305)

Fish and Pond 池畔窺魚

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 73.6 x 42.6 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery

53. Ren He Shang 任蘇尙 (Carved by Wu Changshuo)



1889 Age 50

Bird and Peaches 翎毛壽桃

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 133.8 x 65 cm, Guangdong Provincial Museum

1890 Age 51

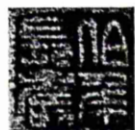
Wang Xizhi Observing the Geese 羲之觀鵝 (1990/319)

1893 Age 54

Landscape 墨筆山水

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 120.6 x 46.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

54. Bo Nian Chang Shou 伯年長壽



1890 Age 51

Magnolia and Peacock 玉蘭孔雀

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on silk, 195.2 x 47.4 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Flowers and Parrots 花間鸚鵡

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on gold-foiled paper, 153 x 41 cm, China Art Gallery

Pine and Crane 松蔭立鶴

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on gold-foiled paper, 153 x 41 cm, China Art Gallery

Tree and Birds 木棉鳴禽

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong Memorial Gallery

1891 Age 52

Peach Flowers and a pair of Swallows 桃花雙燕

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 250 x 60 cm, China Art Gallery

1892 Age 54

*Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

55. Ren Gong Zi 任公子



1890 Age 51

Autumn Flowers and Birds 秋卉雙禽

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on silk, 195.2 x 47.4 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Pelargoniums and Quails 天竹鶴鶉

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on silk, 195.2 x 47.4 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Enjoying the Autumn Moon 中秋賞月

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 93 x 42 cm, China Art Gallery

Peach 蟠桃壽蒂

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 132 x 64 cm, China Art Gallery

Cassia and Ham 桂花母雞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on gold-foiled paper, 153 x 41 cm, China Art Gallery

Willow, Geese and Pond 柳塘戲鵝

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 195 x 47.5 cm, Xu Beihong Memorial Gallery

1891 Age 52

Palm and Chicken 棕櫚三雞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on gold-foiled paper, 215 x 49 cm, China Art Gallery

56. Ren Yi Zhi Yin 任頤之印



- 1891 Age 52 Palm and Birds 棕欄雞圖
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 152.5 x 40 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- 1892 Age 53 Lady and Children 弄璋圖 (1892/362)

Wisteria and Mandarin Ducks 紫藤鴛鴦
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 152 x 81.5 cm, China Art Gallery
- Double Deer 仙山雙鹿
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 164.5 x 70 cm, China Art Gallery
- Morning Glories and Ham 牽牛母雞
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 128.5 x 39 cm, China Art Gallery
- 1893 Age 54 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"
- 1894 Age 55 Listening to Cicadas in Autumn 秋聲賦 (1894/385)

57. Bo Nian 伯年



- 1892 Age 53 Lady and Children 弄璋圖 (1892/362)

Wisteria and Mandarin Ducks 紫藤鴛鴦
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery
- 1894 Age 54 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

58. Ren Yi Zhi Yin 任頤之印 (Carved by Wu Changshuo)



1891 Age 52

Bamboo, Stream and a pair of Sparrows 竹澗雙雀

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, China Art Gallery

Bamboo, Plum and Sparrows 芭蕉梅雀

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 85.5 x 47 cm, Xu Beihong Memorial Gallery

Banana Trees and a White Chicken 芭蕉白雞圖

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 131.8 x 62.8 cm, Suzhou Museum

Playing String Music at Mt. Dong 東山絲竹 (1891/341)

Zhong Kui 鍾馗 (1891/332)

Composing a Poem While Riding a Donkey 驢背思詩 (1891/344)

Throwing the Pot 投壺圖 (1891/343)

1892 Age 53

Lady and Children 弄璋圖 (1892/362)

Washing Clothes 浣紗圖 (1892/364)

Fishing by the Autumn Forest 秋溪垂釣 (1892/365)

Enjoying the Cool on the Willow Bank 柳蔭納涼圖卷 (1892/360)

Lotus and Lady 採蓮仕女 (1892/363)

Ducks Swimming in the Spring River 春江放鴨 (1892/369)

1893 Age 54

Gardening 歸田風趣

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134 x 66 cm, China Art Gallery

1894 Age 55

Wisteria and Mandarin Ducks 紫藤鴛鴦

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 134.8 x 53.4 cm, Palace Museum,

Beijing

1895 Age 56 *Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考"

59. Bo Nian 伯年 (Carved by Wu Changshuo)



1891 Age 52

Double Chicken and Peony 雙雞牡丹

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 148.5 x 39.8 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery

1893 Age 54

Landscape 墨筆山水

Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 120.6 x 46.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Winter Plum and Rooster 臘梅雄雞

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 186 x 47 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Peach Flower and Glossy Ganoderma 桃花靈芝

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on silk, 200.2 x 52 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing

Zhong Kui in Red Ink 硃筆鍾馗 (1893/374)

1894 Age 55

Wisteria and Double Birds 藤羅雙禽

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 99.5 x 51 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery

Wisteria and Sparrows 紫藤麻雀

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 108 x 21 cm, China Art Gallery

Listening to Cicadas in Autumn 秋聲賦 (1894/385)

1895 Age 56

Wang Xizhi Observing the Geese 羲之觀鵝

Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum

60. Ren Yi Zhi Yin 任頤之印



- 1891 Age 52 Double Chicken and Peony 雙雞牡丹
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 148.5 x 39.8 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery
- 1893 Age 54 Landscape 墨筆山水
Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 120.6 x 46.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing
- Flowers and a Bird 花鳥
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 82 x 39.5 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery
- White Flowers and a Bird 花鳥
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 82 x 39.5 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery
- Zhong Kui in Red Ink 硃筆鍾馗 (1893/374)
- 1894 Age 55 Wisteria and Double Birds 藤羅雙禽
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 99.5 x 51 cm, Tianjin Art Gallery
- Wisteria and Sparrows 紫藤麻雀
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, 108 x 21 cm, China Art Gallery
- Listening to Cicadas in Autumn 秋聲賦 (1894/385)
- 1895 Age 56 Three Chivalrous Travellers 風塵三俠
Hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Shanghai Museum

61. Bo Nian 伯年 (Carved by Wu Changshuo)



- 1892 Age 53 Lady and Children 弄璋圖 (1892/362)
- Undated Scene after Prose Poem of the Red Cliff 赤壁詩意 (N.D./403)

62. Ren Yi Mo Gu 任頤摹古

1892 Age 53

*Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考" ;
Collection of Shanghai Museum

63. Shan Yin Ren Shi 山陰任氏

1892 Age 53

*Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考" ;
Collection of Shanghai Museum

64. Bo Nian 伯年



1893 Age 54

Magnolia 玉蘭

Fan, ink and light colour on silk, Diameter/ 25 cm, collection unknown

65. Ci Yuan Shu Hua 次遠書畫

Undated

Writing Poems 紅葉題詩

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, Shanghai Museum

66. Xiao Lou 小樓



Undated

Landscape 山水圖

Hanging scroll, ink and light colour on paper, 132 x 31.5 cm, Palace
Museum, Beijing

67. Yi Yin 頤印



Undated

Pelargoniums and Birds 天竹栖禽

Fan, ink and light colour on silk, Diameter/27 cm, Nanjing Museum

68. Yi Xiao 一笑

Undated

*Wang Yuntian, "Ren Bonian changyong yinkao 任伯年常用印考";

69. Bo Nian Han Mo 伯年翰墨



Undated

Fruit and Flower 花果圖軸

Hanging scroll, ink and Colour on paper, Shanghai Museum

70. Bo Nian 伯年



Undated

Herding Horses in the Wintry Forest 寒林牧馬 (N.D./417)

71. Shan Yin Ren 山陰任 (Carved by Wu Changshuo)



72. Bo Nian Guo Yan 伯年過眼 (Carved by Wu Changshuo)





















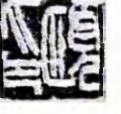











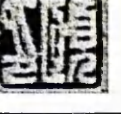





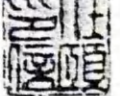




























































73. Ren Run 任潤 (Carved by Ren Jinqian 任晉謙)








Catalogue

— CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF REN BONIAN'S SEALS

Time	1/8	2/9	3/10	4/11	5/12	6/13	7/14
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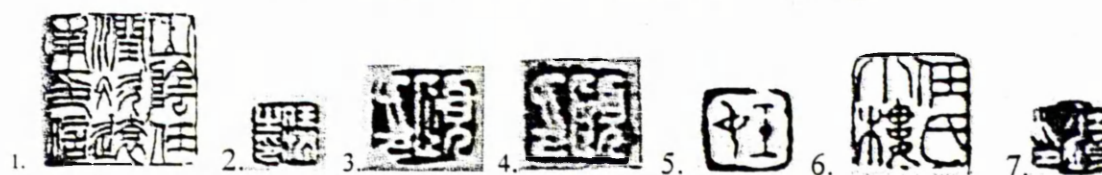
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1892	 	 <div data-bbox="454 1723 553 1819">任山 氏陰</div>	 <div data-bbox="602 1723 702 1819">摹任 古頤</div>				

1893	 	 					
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Chronological List of Ren Bonian's Seals (1)










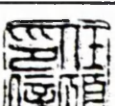







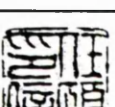


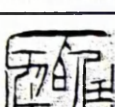
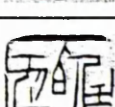
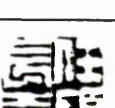
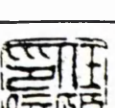
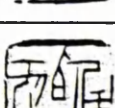

















Year/Seal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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Chronological List of Ren Bonian's Seals (2)

































Year/Seal	8	9	10	11	12	13
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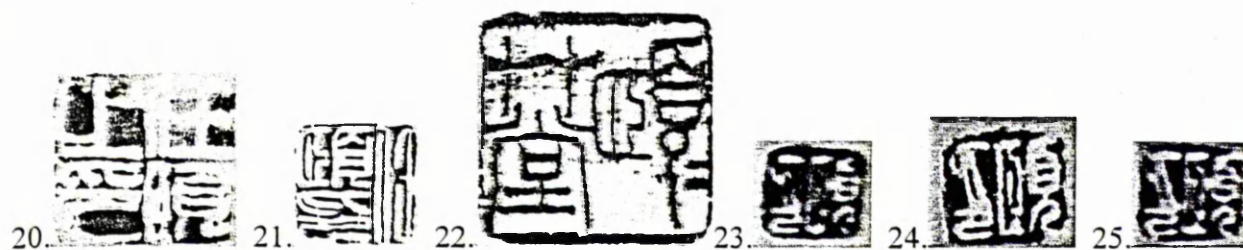
Chronological List of Ren Bonian's Seals (3)








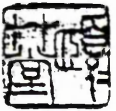











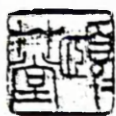


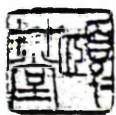




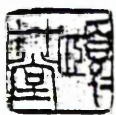

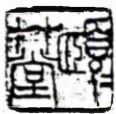
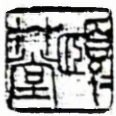


Year/Seal	14	15	16	17	18.	19
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Chronological List of Ren Bonian's Seals (4)


















Year/Seal	20	21	22	23	24	25
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Chronological List of Ren Bonian's Seals (5)


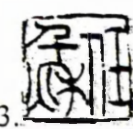
















Year/Seal	26	27	28	29	30
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Chronological List of Ren Bonian's Seals (6)

31-1.  31-2.  31-3. 










32.  33.  34.  35. 
















Year/Seal	31	32	33	34	35
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Chronological List of Ren Bonian's Seals (7)








Year/Seal	36	37	38	39	40
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Appendix 2-4-8

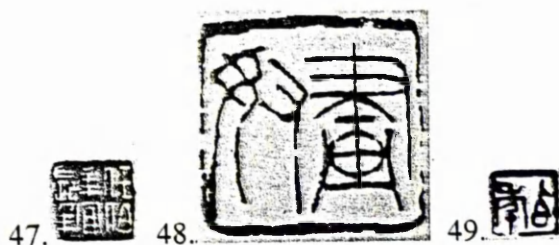
Chronological List of Ren Bonian's Seals (8)























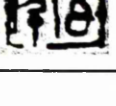
Year/Seal	41	42	43	44	45	46
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Chronological List of Ren Bonian's Seals (9)























Year/Seal	47	48	49	50	51	52	53
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Chronological List of Ren Bonian's Seals (10)





Year/Seal	54	55	56	57	58	59
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Chronological List of Ren Bonian's Seals (11)

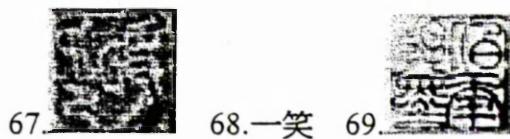
60.  61.  62. 任頤摹古 63. 山陰任氏

64.  65. 次遠書畫 66. 




Year/Seal	60	61	62	63	64	65	66
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1892			任 古 顧	任 山 氏 陰			
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Undated						次 書 遠	

Chronological List of Ren Bonian's Seals (12)



Year/ Seal	67	68	69	70	71	72	73
1865							
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